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Near East & South Asia

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Donor States Conference Opens; PA Aid Discussed

'Arafat Delivers Address

JN3011172294 Jericho Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1540 GMT 30 Nov 94

["Text" of speech by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and head of the Palestinian Authority, at the donor states conference in Brussels on 29 November—read by announcer]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Chairman: We extend our heartfelt greetings and appreciation to Belgium—its government and people—as we meet in its beautiful capital, Brussels, the capital of the European Union. Brussels hosts this important meeting for the donors, whom I thank for their presence and participation in helping our people shoulder their responsibilities and overcome the difficulties facing them in building their homeland, institutions, and future.

Allow me to address you with frankness and to say at the beginning that we are the only party that is paying the price of peace. Meanwhile, the other parties are benefiting, in fact they already have benefited, from the peace process. Nobody can deny the fact that the Palestinian problem is the most difficult and most important problem, as well as the basis of conflict in the region. This means that the Palestinian peace plan needs more important support.

The signing of the Declaration of Principles in Washington and Cairo and the generous promises that were made by the donors at the beginning of October, have created high expectations among our people who believed that freedom, independence, and prosperity were coming. However, the implementation of the accord and its difficulties and the delay in the move toward the next stage in the West Bank, and then the policies of closure and collective punishment carried out by Israel following any operation carried out by extremists from both sides, have created a very difficult political and economic situation.

The delay in receiving aid from the donors has further complicated the situation. We are facing a devastated infrastructure, a very high unemployment rate, real poverty, and the task of building institutions without funds. This is a very difficult task. The political difficulties and the delay in receiving funds has produced a serious and tense situation in our country. This situation only benefits the forces that seek to obstruct and strike at the peace process. This exacerbating situation is the one I warned you, as well as my people, about at the beginning of the peace process, when I raised the following slogan: Either we build a Singapore in our country or fall in the trap of the tragic Somali model. If we fall in this trap the serious damage will be inflicted on our people and on all peoples surrounding us. The damage will also undermine our hopes for peace, stability, prosperity, joint development, and building a developed Middle East economy that supports and safeguards peace.

We are fully aware that the responsibility is ours in the first place. Since the beginning, we launched a real attempt to solve our problems and to build self-reliance institutions. However, I would like to ask you: What investor would come to closed area to invest his money under such circumstances? The circumstances under which we began to set up our national authority in Gaza and Jericho are very difficult. We moved to Gaza, within a few weeks, 5,000 Palestinian police came from all Arab countries in a large logistics operation that could not have been carried out by many countries. We dispatched this force to Gaza and Jericho when the Israeli forces withdrew from there. We achieved—despite our small resources—security, peace, and freedom for the Palestinian people and implemented the accord concluded with the Israelis with sincerity and commitment.

We found a destroyed civilian structure and a devastated civilian administration, particularly in the most important fields: security, financial information, taxes, economy, industry, transportation, public services, and in other fields. We started building and we choose the personnel and trained and categorized them in a very short period of time.

You can recall the history of independence for several peoples to draw a comparison. We were helped by qualified Palestinian individuals, in which our people take pride. We established the Palestinian Monetary Authority and several scientific, cultural, health, economic, and tax institutions, which began their work in a good manner. Of course, you know what it means to enroll 700,000 pupils in schools in the West Bank and Gaza without any aid, and we take pride in this despite the great difficulties. However, the difficulty of building in the absence of funds has made the issue very complex indeed.

We built an institution for economic development, PECDAR [Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction]. We also established a Finance Ministry out of nothing. We also established ministries for planning, social affairs, housing, transportation, and health which work under very difficult conditions. We also established an important computer center and various government institutions. For the first time in the Palestinian people's contemporary history, we took control of the Palestinian people's' education in the West Bank and Gaza. We also assumed the management of hospitals and other institutions, such as the Palestinian energy, water, and environment authorities, and recently, the Palestinian Monetary Authority.

We had to deal with the problem of 137,000 young men and women who suffered in the occupation's jails and detention centers and 118,00 wounded during the intifadah. So it was very important to reconsider everything that existed at the time to help in the rehabilitation, reconstruction, and restructuring to ensure a better future for them and for our homeland.

Despite all this, we realize that we still have a long way to go to reach our goals and aspirations.

You have rightly asked us to carry out our work with the maximum degree of credibility, accountability, and responsibility. I believe that now you can see that not a single cent is spent without a supervision, control, and auditing from your side and the side that represents you. This is something necessary for our people and government, and not just a response to a rightful international desire.

A few days ago, the first nucleus of the Palestinian monetary establishment was formed, and we published a law on encouraging investments. We support the private sector and are working for a free system and free market, and we urge all kinds of investors.

We have restored relations with all Israeli data establishments in order to develop a way for dealing with taxes and revenues. Mr. Rabin has agreed to help us in tax collection through providing us with some experts. You see that the training programs are continuous day and night at the highest possible level. However, all this requires time, effort, and money. The effort is made in spite of the short time, but regrettably, money is not available.

Our attempts to build establishments based on pluralism and democracy are confronted with a huge obstacle; namely, Israel's delaying the conclusion of an agreement on elections in the West Bank and Gaza.

Expediting the holding of elections will create the sound framework for participation in decisionmaking, and will realize the people's supervision through the elected council, and will give legitimacy to all our other establishments. Elections will give political and moral stability and protect the economy. Therefore, we ask you to help us in this field, and we ask the Israelis to expedite implementing their commitments in this respect.

We are aware of their dire need for security, but this can be overcome through joint cooperation between us and them.

With all our appreciation and thanks to all of you for the promises regarding what you will offer and for what you have actually offered to our people over so many years, we ask you to look to the abstract figures to realize that what has been implemented compared with what had been pledged. It is still very slight. Forgive me for saying that there is a great difference between the promises, commitments, and payments. Here, I am comparing between what has effectively been paid and what has been promised.

Ladies and gentlemen: I am aware of the difficulties facing aid programs throughout the world. Likewise, I am aware that there is an international competition for available aid funds. Similarly, I am aware that meeting the domestic requirements of your peoples is an urgent issue which you must address, using your own revenues. I am also aware that practical aid programs now basically cover long-term development requirements. Nonetheless, I appeal to you to examine our particularly difficult circumstances, which render us the most underprivileged of all, compared to all other world states. For we are the only people who are still living under occupation. We have continued to suffer under occupation. Moreover, we have thus far been denied the right to self-determination. At present, and for the first time, we are building a framework for our National Authority [NA; Palestinian Authority, PA] in the most difficult circumstances. The world shoulders a political, moral, and financial responsibility toward our people, who are paying a price due to the failure to implement the international resolutions pertaining to their just cause.

Hence, there is a need for your aid in all political and economic areas in order to enable us to build our institutions and cover our budget's deficit so that we may address all the challenges, which are not only posed to us, but to the entire peace process as well. The difficulties that we are facing, which I have already mentioned, chief among which are the closure of the territories and denying our workers access to their work sites, exacerbate the unemployment suffered in the occupied Palestinian territories, which exceeds 58 percent of the work force, all of which are young people. Seventy percent of our people are below 18 years old. Most of our workers are below 30 years old. Such unemployment on the streets of the West Bank and Gaza is bound to create an explosive situation whose consequences neither we nor you can bear, particularly since you know that the signs of starvation have almost been seen in some of our areas.

Therefore, we need projects that can rapidly create job opportunities. We also need rapid accomplishments to improve the infrastructure and promote economic production as well as exports. Similarly, we need genuine development in the aid mechanisms, modalities, strategies, and priorities. We need rapid, intensive, and job-creating aid. Such aid must help build institutions, and be capable of addressing our priorities.

We need a mechanism for coordination between us and you, one that can resolve problems quickly, away from red tape. Such a mechanism should not allow problems to accumulate. Difficulties should not neutralize such a mechanism.

For our part, we promise you to fully meet all of your requirements in terms of all that can promote credibility, effectiveness, and accountability so that you may rest assured that all the amounts released are properly used to achieve the purposes they are designed to serve. However, please act soon, for the situation cannot stand any delays. The explosion is not far away. It should be inconceivable for us to wait until we see the explosion blowing up all peace opportunities. What is at stake is the future of this sensitive region. It is the realization or frustration of hope. What is at stake is promoting and entrenching the peace of the brave. Can we build a just peace, achieve true stability, and bring about prosperity for all our peoples, or shall we slide into a cycle of violence, hatred, and enmity?

We have struggled to achieve just and comprehensive peace in the region. In the same vein, we have endeavored to achieve freedom, independence, and fraternity among the peoples of the region. We have also sought to achieve prosperity for all peoples of the region. Right now, we look to you, and appeal to you to help us move to safe shores so that we may proceed toward the building of a happy future for us, and for all our neighbors.

Donors Committee Meets

LD3011170894 Brussels La Une Radio Network in French 1600 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] After the meeting between Yasir 'Arafat and Shim'on Peres in Brussels on Monday [28 November], what is known as the ad hoc liaison committee, which groups the western countries that have promised aid to the new Palestinian Authority, met yesterday and today to allocate extra aid. But it needs a magician to work out the exact figures, Gerard Depuy:

[Depuy] Yes, indeed. If we know that the budget deficit of the Palestinian state [as heard] is estimated at 4 billion Belgian francs and that the donor countries and international bodies like the European Commission, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund have spoken of their intention of making an effort, it is still impossible to know exactly what will end up in Yasir 'Arafat's bag.

Some people are talking of extra aid equivalent to 736 million Belgian francs, others—including the Americans—say that they are going to give 1.5 billion francs to the Palestinians by next March, others still say that this extra aid will amount to only 800 million Belgian francs.

In a word, things could not be more vague, all the more so since the sums decided on are not always available at the right time. For example, the European Commission says it is very happy to have aided the Palestinians to the tune of about 6 billion Belgian francs between September 1993 and November 1994, but admits itself that it has actually handed over only half of this.

What can be said about this meeting of experts yesterday and today is that they all recognize that they were completely wrong a year ago about the real financial needs of the autonomous Palestinian territories. Now that they fear the peace process could be compromised by riots of disappointed Palestinians, they say they are ready to analyze the situation better, and go to their purses more quickly. But their aid will not be more than 5 billion Belgian francs over five years, or 600 francs per Palestinian per year—practically nothing, if you take into account the fact that the coffers of the Palestinian state are quite empty and that it cannot raise taxes in a situation of widespread unemployment.

'Arafat Receives $58 Million From World Bank

LD2911184794 Brussels La Une Radio Network in French 1700 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The World Bank signed a check for $58 million for Yasir 'Arafat in Brussels today, this amounts to about 2 billion Belgian francs. The money will be used for the rebuilding of the former occupied territories. With this money in his pocket, the Palestinian leader went into a meeting with the main donor countries to get them to release the funds promised to the leadership of the Palestinian autonomous region to help put right the economic and social situation in Gaza and the West Bank, in other words the town of Jericho.

Memorandum Signed on PA Fiscal Aid

TA3011161094 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1500 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Israel, the Palestinians, and the donor countries have signed a memorandum of understanding in Brussels which specifies the Palestinian Authority's [PA] financial needs for the next four months and deals with the issues of taxation, Israeli aid, and contributions from foreign countries.

Foreign Ministry Director General Uri Savir signed the memorandum on Israel's behalf. Spokesmen from the donor countries refused to divulge any details on the contents of the document.

Arab-Israeli Talks

IDF Soldiers Said To Take Part in Syria Talks

TA3011191594 Jerusalem New Channel 2 Television Network in Hebrew 1800 GMT 30 Nov 94

[Studio talk between moderator Ya'aqov Eylon and political correspondent 'Imanu'el Rosen—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Eylon] There has been a development in the secret negotiations track with Syria. Senior IDF [Israel Defense Forces] soldiers recently participated in at least one meeting chaired by Ambassadors Itamar Rabinovich and Walid al-Mu'allim in Washington. Our political correspondent 'Imanu'el Rosen is here in our studio with his report. Good evening 'Imanu'el.

[Rosen] Good evening.

[Eylon] Is the army now joining the negotiations between Israel and Syria?

[Rosen] It would be premature to make that assertion; however, a serious attempt is clearly being made to expand the only secret negotiations track between Israel and Syria in Washington. Ambassadors Rabinovich and al-Mu'allim held a meeting with the participation of senior IDF officers in which they discussed security arrangements. I was even informed that some progress was made at this meeting. The identity of the senior officer who participated has not been confirmed, but it may be worth noting that Major General 'Uzi Dayan recently participated in talks in Washington, and he could very well be the man.

[Eylon] Thank you very much, 'Iman'uel Rosen. Officials at the Prime Minister's Bureau have refused to comment on the matter, saying they do not provide details about the talks between the Syrian and Israeli ambassadors.

Syria Reportedly Fails To Show at Talks

TA0112105294 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 1 Dec 94 p A1

[Report by Aluf Ben and 'Aqiva Eldar]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Syria thwarted a scheduled meeting between senior IDF [Israel Defense Forces] and Syrian Army officers as part of the peace talks being held by Israeli Ambassador Itamar Rabinovich and Syrian Ambassador Walid al-Mu'allim in Washington. The failure to hold the meeting was one of the main reasons for the freeze that ensued in the negotiations between Israel and Syria and the harsh criticism Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin leveled at Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad.

The officers were scheduled to meet in Washington in early November, immediately after U.S. President Bill Clinton's visit to Damascus and Jerusalem. According to the plan, Syrian and Israeli military experts were to have joined the contacts between the ambassadors in order to launch a detailed debate on the security arrangements.

The senior Israeli officer apparently arrived in Washington as planned, but Syria decided not to send an officer to the meeting. Israel and the United States viewed this as a failure and were furious at the Syrians for preventing progress in the negotiations. Rabin even launched a harsh attack on al-Asad last week, saying that Syria is not doing Israel any favors by negotiating with it.

According to one version, the Syrians agreed to the meeting on the condition that Israel would make various promises, but Rabin rejected this. [passage omitted]

Palestinian Affairs

'Arafat Returns From Donor States Meeting

JN3011161794 Jericho Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1515 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] With God's care, His Excellency President Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestinian National Authority [PNA], has returned to the homeland from Brussels after attending the donors countries meeting where he met with several officials and held talks with the donor quarters and states on ways of supporting the PNA.

The talks also dealt with bilateral relations between the PNA and the European countries.

His excellency also met with Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres and discussed the legislative elections and the redeployment of the occupation forces in the occupied West Bank. [passage omitted]

'Arafat Meets British Consul General in Gaza

JN3011200294 Jericho Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1830 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] His Excellency President Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the National Authority, received British Consul General Richard (Elton) in Gaza today.

The talks addressed the most recent developments in the peace process, the obstacles facing it, legislative elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and issues pertaining to the implementation of the second stage of the Declaration of Principles signed between Israel and the Palestinians.

'Arafat Receives Moroccan King's Invitation

JN0112072794 Jericho Voice of Palestine in Arabic 0600 GMT 1 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] President Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and head of the Palestinian National Authority, has received an official invitation from His Majesty King Hassan of Morocco to attend the Islamic summit conference scheduled to be held in Morocco on 13 December.

Moroccan Cultural Affairs Minister Allal Sinasser conveyed the message to President 'Arafat when his excellency received him in Gaza last night.

Qaddumi on Fight Against 'Israeli Enemy'

TA3011180194 Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 28 Nov 94 pp 1, 23

[FBIS Translated Text] London, QUDS PRESS—Faruq Qaddumi, head of the PLO Political Department, has warned of an explosion in the region due to Israeli practices. He stressed that the PLO, which is guiding the peace process on the Palestinian side, differs from Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] in approach. He added, however, that the Islamic Movement, which opposes the peace agreements with Israel, is part of the Palestinian national movement. He emphasized that the PLO's stance toward Hamas is fundamentally different from that of Israel and the United States.

In an interview conducted with Qaddumi by 'Isam 'Abd-al-Hakim, deputy editor in chief of the Pakistani magazine INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, which will be published today, Qaddumi stressed that "if a peaceful settlement based on Resolution 242 is not achieved there will be no peace" in the region.

He said: "The Israelis must evacuate all the Arab territories, including Jerusalem. A just solution should be found for the refugee problem, and the Palestinian people's legitimate rights should be guaranteed. This is the just peace if Israel wants justice."

He added: "Otherwise, it will be capitulation, and we refuse to surrender."

The head of the PLO Political Department noted that "the Palestinian refugee problem is a fundamental problem." He said: "We will not achieve a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict except by finding a just solution to the refugee problem in accordance with the resolutions of international legitimacy."

Qaddumi emphasized that there are five issues that must not be encroached on and that they should be confirmed in all relevant UN resolutions. Those are: the refugee problem, the removal of settlements, Jerusalem, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and the right to sovereignty over their land.

He added that agreements have been reached among Arab foreign ministers in this regard. He stressed that the refugees to whose problems the Palestinians are demanding a solution are "the refugees of 1948. In 1967 there were no refugees, just displaced persons."

Qaddumi said: "By the repatriation of the refugees, I mean repatriation to their homes. If a refugee's home was in Yafo, he will return to Yafo. If it was in Haifa, he will return to Haifa, and if it was in Tel Aviv, he will return to Tel Aviv." All these areas are located inside the Green Line.

Efforts and Restrictions

Qaddumi refused to evaluate the performance of the Palestinian Authority [PA] in the autonomous areas. He said: "The PA is making efforts within a limited framework. Undoubtedly, it is being shackled by many restrictions. It is at the beginning of its task, and it is not easy to judge whether it has succeeded or failed."

Qaddumi accused Israel of placing "obstacles and difficulties before the PA and of rendering it almost paralyzed." He added: "Therefore, our presence abroad is necessary in order to foil these Israeli attempts." Qaddumi and some members of the PLO Executive Committee, including Mahmud 'Abbas, have refused to return to reside in the autonomous areas.

Responsibility for Security

Qaddumi, who has expressed numerous reservations about the Declaration of Principles, which the PLO signed with Israel, said that Israel is pushing the Palestinians toward "infighting." He pointed out that "Israel holds the PA responsible for the security of Israelis and the settlements despite the fact that this is an Israeli responsibility, as stipulated in the agreements. Whenever something happens, however, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin points to the PA as if it were responsible."

The Opposition Is Part of the Democratic Game

The Palestinian official emphasized that "the opposition is part of the democratic game. We totally reject the claim that we are on a collision course with the opposition."

He added: "The PA is administering a part of the land, and all factions, without exception, are struggling with all means in the other areas."

Qaddumi repeated previous statements and said: "As long as there is one Israeli soldier, every Palestinian struggler should fight and resist this soldier."

With regard to the areas under the PA's control, he said: "There are no Israelis in those areas. Should Israeli soldiers come there, the Palestinians have the right to fight them."

Qaddumi stressed that "popular resistance outside the autonomous area is necessary because the settlements must be removed by various methods."

Contacts With the Factions

On relations with Hamas, Qaddumi said: "Hamas is part of the national movement. Although we in the PLO might differ with it on the method and means, we are fighting one enemy—the Israeli enemy." He pointed out that "contacts with all factions of the revolution are continuing." He said: "The PLO is "fundamentally different" from Israel and the United States.

We Were the Ones Who Ceased Coordination With Jordan

In a related development, Qaddumi called for coordination with Jordan. He said: "With regard to the Arab-Israeli peace, this experience is still at the testing stage. It might fail because of Israeli practices. Israel is trying to obtain concessions as if it wanted a price for occupying Arab lands. It is also trying to deceive world public opinion by suggesting that a great achievement has been realized on the Arab tracks despite the fact that no progress has been achieved."

Qaddumi said: "There was no problem on the Jordanian track. The Jordanian brothers were waiting for achievements on the Palestinian track. We were coordinating with them, then we the Palestinians ceased that coordination."

He said: "I support coordination with Jordan in every sense of the word." He expressed the belief that "Arab relations will develop again, perhaps even better and stronger than before" under the new Middle Eastern order.

Expected Revolutions

Qaddumi emphasized that "the region is at the tip of a volcano," but he refused to give further details. However, he added: "You will actually see revolutions being triggered by the Israeli practices. The agreements that are being signed will not lead to peace but will cause the region's eruption. This peace will not lead to a real peace but to a temporary truce which might last for some time."

Israel Behind the Delay of the Aid's Arrival

Qaddumi held Israel responsible for the delay of financial aid to the PA. He said: "At every meeting of the donors committee, Israel raises issues on which we have not reached agreement in order to impede the payment of money to the PA." Qaddumi said that the fact that he heads the Palestinian economic council might be the cause of the Israeli hard-line stance toward financial assistance to the PA.

He said: "There is no doubt that Israel does not want to see me heading the economic council, but this is not an Israeli affair, rather a Palestinian one."

Qaddumi repeated his refusal to enter the autonomous areas under the current conditions. He said: "I will absolutely not enter with Yitzhaq Rabin's permission. I have struggled for the liberation of Palestinian land. How can I accept that my enemy permit me to enter there? I must be given the right to enter, not permission."

Sha'th Reviews Donor States' Aid to PA

JN3011205294 Jericho Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1830 GMT 30 Nov 94

[Report by Daniella Khalaf in Brussels—italicized passages are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The donor states held their third meeting in Brussels yesterday and today. The meeting, which was chaired by (Jean Eglan), Norwegian state secretary for foreign affairs, was attended by delegations from Belgium, Canada, the Palestinian National Authority [PNA], Egypt, the European Union, the IMF, Israel, Jordan, Norway, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, the United Nations, the United States, and the World Bank.

At the end of the meeting, the donor states pledged to donate $102 million for the transitional period and $23 million to solve unemployment issue in the Palestinian territory.

Dr. Nabil Sha'th, minister of planning and international cooperation in the PNA, noted the correct figures which the Palestinians will receive in the coming weeks. This came at the news conference held in Brussels this evening:

These amounts will be donated during the period starting today and ending at the end of March [1995]. These amounts are linked to two main issues:

First, these amounts will cover the current expenditure of the Palestinian Authority [PA] in the fields of education, health, and in other fields in the West Bank; the cost of setting up Palestinian institutions in Gaza and Jericho; and the salaries of the Palestinian police. This amount is estimated at $125 million. So far, $102 million has been raised. Some countries promised to provide an additional $25 million. This amount, which is expected to arrive next week, will cover these expenses. We hope that these amounts will be paid at the appropriate time as it was agreed.

Also, an amount of $23 million was raised to cover the cost of infrastructure projects in Gaza, in particular, to create no less than 5,000 job opportunities in the coming six months. This amount will be increased soon to increase the job opportunities to 15,000, as well as to cover the costs of the damaged Palestinian infrastructure in Gaza, particularly in the fields of water, sewage, roads, and electricity.

Yesterday, it was agreed to provide $58 million to cover the costs of long-term infrastructure projects, which we agreed to carry out in the past but were not implemented because there was no agreement on financing these projects before yesterday. These amounts are estimated at $180 million. We hope that these amounts will be paid before next March.

When queried about the usefulness of all this aid if Israel maintains its closure of the National Authority areas, Dr. Sha'th said: "Israel's closure of the territories for one month costs us $90 million. Consequently, the closure of the territories for one and a half months would eat up the entire amount promised by the donors. The closure of Gaza—denying its goods access to Israeli markets, denying tourists access to Gaza, and denying its fishermen the chance to carry out their fishing activities—costs us many times the promised aid. This is because closure destroys the investors's trust in the possibility of ever launching projects there. Hence, the closure has always served to choke the Palestinian economy. As for the delay in releasing international aid, it has not helped rectify the situation. The Israelis promised that they will not henceforth close the National Authority areas in a manner that would adversely affect commodities, tourism, and investment. Nonetheless, they have failed to make a similar commitment with regard to labor. They only promised to ease the restrictions imposed in this regard. They made their position perfectly clear in this regard yesterday. It goes without saying that our long-term plans do not envisage continued dependence on jobs in Israeli markets. We want to build a strong industrial economy that is capable of creating jobs for citizens. We also aim to create jobs in infrastructure projects. Hence, the projects addressed today will contribute toward the creation of jobs. This will reduce our dependence on Israeli markets. If the Israelis honor their commitment to the effect that the closure will not adversely affect commodities, tourism, and investment, this will be a promising sign."

With regard to the results of the donor nations' meeting, and whether they are deemed satisfactory to the Palestinian side, Dr. Nabil Sha'th told the Voice of Palestine: No doubt, if the aid promised today materializes, this will be a great improvement on the donors' previous efforts to fulfill their commitments. If the donors actually honor their obligations, and if Israel fulfills its commitment to the effect that it will not henceforth close the National Authority areas in a manner that adversely affects commodities, tourism, and investments—if it does not repeat the closure it introduced in the aftermath of Wachsman's abduction, which choked the overall Palestinian economy—if these two conditions are met, then, this new element, coupled with the third condition; namely, improving and activating coordination on aid, will usher in a significant development.

As to when the legislative elections will be held, Dr. Nabil Sha'th said that this issue will be decided in the Cairo talks, which will be resumed on Monday [5 December].

PA Official on Aid Agreement With Donor Countries

JN3011182494 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Arabic 1530 GMT 30 Nov 94

[Telephone interview with Majdi al-Khalidi, under secretary at the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation of the Palestinian Authority, in Brussels, by Sa'id Mu'addi, in the studio, on 30 November; from the "With the Events" program—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Mu'addi] Majdi al-Khalidi from Brussels, good evening.

[Al-Khalidi] Good evening.

[Mu'addi] A memorandum of understanding has been signed between the donor countries and the Palestinian Authority [PA]. What does this memorandum include?

[Al-Khalidi] A memorandum or agreement of understanding was signed with the donor countries to help the PA cover the deficit in the budget between the PA's needs and the expected revenues. At the same time, the PA promises that a taxation system for collecting revenues will be established. Of course, such a system is being established. In a separate letter, Israel promises to help the PA in collecting taxes and to pay some of its dues. Of course, this agreement gives the Palestinians about $125 million out of the aid promised by donor countries to cover the period from October 1994 until March 1995. The money will cover the needs, salaries, and expenses of the police and civilian government employees. The money will also cover some projects which will soon provide a large number of job opportunities. We have numerous projects in this regard which have been approved by the donors. The funds will also be used to cover the expenses of the rehabilitation of released prisoners and other expenses of the Palestinian administration. All these expenses are covered by the $125 million.

[Mu'addi] What about the committee that has been set up or, rather, that has been decided to be set up to supervise the expenditure of these funds?

[Al-Khalidi] Of course, there are the known committees—the AHLC [not further identified]. However, in view of the difficulty of the follow-up, the existence of difficulties so far, and the delayed delivery of funds, we have been taught by past experience that there must be domestic coordination. In other words, there must be a domestic committee headed by a Palestinian and comprising representatives from the donor countries and the Palestinians.

[Mu'addi] A meeting was held today between the Uri Savir, the director general of the [Israeli] Foreign Ministry, and Dr. Nabil Sha'th, on the possibility of establishing an industrial zone at the Erez checkpoint. What is happening in this regard?

[Al-Khalidi] It will be a Palestinian industrial zone near the Erez checkpoint. This meeting did take place. The industrial zone is one of the projects which will provide a large number of job opportunities soon, God willing. This issue will be studied on the ground. Of course, the objective of this project is to attract Palestinian, foreign, and Israeli investment.

[Mu'addi] Majdi al-Khalidi, under secretary of the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, thank you very much.

[Al-Khalidi] You are welcome. Thank you.

'Abd-al-Shafi Comments on Proposed Free Elections

BR2511135894 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 23 Nov 94 p 19

[Interview with 'Abd-al-Shafi, former leader of Palestinian delegation to Washington peace talks, by Umberto de Giovannangeli in Gaza; date not given: "Voting Will Avert Civil War"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] "I feel that the decision made by 'Arafat to hold elections throughout the territories is very important, even if Israel did not give the all-clear sign. It is a test of autonomy, and one which is all the more important since this is a time when 'Arafat is accused by many sides of being totally subordinate to Yitzhaq Rabin. However, free elections will not be organized overnight. They must be prepared down to the last detail because they represent a decisive step for the future of the Palestinian people." Thus began our meeting with 'Abd-al Shafi, the "grand old man" of Gaza, and one of the founders of the PLO. Today 'Abd-al Shafi is at the center of the events shaking the Palestinian camp. It is also thanks to his mediation that civil war has been avoided. He—the former leader of the delegation to the negotiations in Washington—is the one who has upset the Palestinian political stage, with the creation of a list of independents who will run in the first territorial elections.

[De Giovannangeli] 'Arafat has stopped dithering around and has announced to hold elections. How do you assess this decision?

['Abd-al-Shafi] It is a courageous decision that demands a qualitative leap for all those active in Palestinian politics. Everyone is being discussed and a new leadership will emerge out of a confrontation of ideas, proposals, and people. Nobody will any longer be able to rest on their laurels or blow their own trumpet with an ideological or religious delegation. The elections will be the "moment of truth" for everyone. This is why the greatest attention must be paid to their preparation.

[De Giovannangeli] What are the problems remaining to be solved?

['Abd-al-Shafi] First of all, these elections must cover not only the autonomous areas of Gaza and Jericho but all of the West Bank. They cannot discriminate against Palestinians in the West Bank just because in the Oslo and Cairo agreements it was decided to initiate the road of self-government in a limited area. If they are to be free, the elections must not have interested "supervisors:" I am thinking first of all of Israel, but also of other Arab countries interested—for instrumental reasons—in supporting candidates of convenience. This is why we must create a unitary committee which guarantees equal opportunities to all the forces that intend to participate in the elections.

[De Giovannangeli] One of the conditions set by Israel for it to agree to the elections was for the participants to accept the peace agreements signed in Washington and Cairo.

['Abd-al-Shafi] That is an unacceptable excuse which does not do justice to the democratic principles flaunted by Israel. Rabin is making a serious mistake in setting this condition. By doing so he is contributing decisively to the loss of credibility of his Palestinian interlocutors, beginning with 'Arafat, and offering a valid reason for the fundamentalists to shut themselves out of a democratic confrontation. If we were to accept this burden we would be proving right those who say that ours is merely a "supervised freedom." The fact is that the Israeli prime minister feels he has the legitimate right to impose vetoes and conditions on the Oslo Treaty, which grants Israel the last word on all substantial issues regarding our future.

[De Giovannangeli] In Gaza the tension is still high following last Friday's [18 November] massacre. Is there still a danger of civil war?

['Abd-al-Shafi] I would say no. Things have calmed down and the mediation work done in recent days has yielded its first important results. Anyway, none of the parties involved wants to be responsible for unleashing a civil war. On the other hand, the committee of inquiry set up by the Palestinian Authority is not a "concession" made to "Hamas" and the Islamic Jihad, but an act intended for all Palestinian people, who are asking for a check on the responsibility and punishment of guilty people, whoever they may be. We have not struggled against the Israeli occupiers just so we could live under a dictatorship or have an armed counterpower in authority.

[De Giovannangeli] Over the past few days you announced the creation of a movement of independents with the intention of taking part in the next elections. What are the objectives?

['Abd-al-Shafi] A working group is currently putting together a draft program which will then be discussed in various meetings. This procedure is already giving a sense of our challenge. We want to contest an elitist vision of the organization, linked to the charismatic conception of the leader or to an authority whose legitimacy descends directly from Allah. In short, the Palestinian state which we would like to see emerge does not need despots—of which there are plenty in the Middle East—or ayatollahs. Our objective is the unity of the people, which today is threatened by second-rate group logic. This is one of the strongest criticisms which I feel could be leveled at the Palestinian Authority: the fact that it has managed many activities, beginning with economic activities, in accordance with divisive arguments that have no relation to national interests.

Institute Director on 'Arafat-Hamas Power Struggle

MM0112112194 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 30 Nov 94 p 6

[Interview with Dr. Khalil al-Shaqaqi, director general of the Palestinian Research and Studies Center in Nabulus and brother of Dr. Fathi al-Shaqaqi, leader of the "Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine," by Salih Qallab; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Qallab] Your recent poll in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip produced the same figures as before regarding the weight of the rival forces and the popularity of President Yasir 'Arafat.

[Al-Shaqaqi] No. It showed that Hamas had made slight progress in comparison with the past.

[Qallab] When did you carry out the poll? Was it done during, before, or after the recent clashes in Gaza?

[Al-Shaqaqi] It was carried out over three days. Seventy-five percent of the questionnaire forms were distributed before the outbeak of Friday's [18 November] incidents and 25 percent were distributed and collected after these incidents. The purpose of the survey was not to find out to what extent the Gaza incidents affected the Palestinian public opinion. It was mainly carried out before the Palestine mosque incident, but we did compare the results with previous poll results and found that there was no fundamental change in the popularity of 'Arafat or any of the Palestinian factions, and that the difference between now and before is very minimal.

[Qallab] Does that mean that the recent Gaza incidents did not affect the mood of the Palestinian public?

[Al-Shaqaqi] Yes, it changed nothing. I believe that, generally speaking, whoever supported the National Authority [Palestinian National Authority, PNA] before the incident now supports it even more, and the same thing applies to Hamas. In other words, there has neen no major tangible shift in favor of Hamas or the PNA. [passage omitted]

[Qallab] Speaking with complete impartiality, are there contacts between Israel and Hamas?

[Al-Shaqaqi] I believe there is a possibility of contacts. There has been a change in Hamas's thinking in the direction of possibly addressing the new political circumstances. That could perhaps motivate some parties within that movement to try to start a dialogue with Israel and to discuss all issues including political issues and the future of the settlement process.

If you ask me if there is such a dialogue at present, my answer would be "no"—but there are serious attempts to open such a dialogue. There are those within Hamas who advocate that view, although there is also strong opposition to it, just as there is opposition within the Israeli Cabinet and Israeli security organs.

[Qallab] That confirms the claims that there are trends within Hamas interested in dialogue and understanding with Israel?

[Al-Shaqaqi] Yes, there are trends within Hamas which want to address the new reality in a different way from the days of the intifadah. These trends realize that there is a new reality and a Palestinian Authority [PA] on the ground and that they have to address it the same way the opposition in Jordan addresses the authorities, and in the same way that is done in Syria or any other state.

There can be no doubt that these trends within Hamas are strong and are convinced of the need to transform their organization from a military movement into a political party. They see no harm in starting a dialogue with Israel in order to be able to participate in drawing up the region's map in the new era, but the problem they face is that 'Arafat is still not prepared to pay a price for their moderation by giving them a real and reasonable share in the PNA.

[Qallab] Are they in favor of participation in the PNA?

[Al-Shaqaqi] Yes, they do want to participate in the PNA and in everything else in the new situation. Hamas would not agree to stop military action and change its strategy without some gain, and the gain it could make at present is participation in the PA and in Palestinian decisionmaking from the base to the top.

[Qallab] In your view, is the disagreement between Hamas and 'Arafat over percentages, as in the case of the [Palestine] National Council [PNC] when they insisted on 40 percent, or is the Palestinian president opposed in principle to their participation in the PA?

[Al-Shaqaqi] Generally speaking, 'Arafat wants to remain the only decisionmaker on the entire Palestinian question.

[Qallab] Do you mean that 'Arafat only wants "cosmetic" opposition?

[Al-Shaqaqi] Yes, that is exactly what he wants. He would not allow anyone, even from within Fatah, to share the decisionmaking with him. So, he will not allow Hamas any real participation. But I do not believe that 'Arafat would object to giving the movement 40 percent of the PNC seats because the PNC is worthless and it would mean nothing if Hamas got even 100 percent of its seats.

The question is: Would 'Arafat be willing to give Hamas a 40-percent share of the decisionmaking? I believe that he is not even prepared to give it a 10-percent share of Palestinian decisionmaking.

[Qallab] In your view, is there a likelihood of Hamas, or some elements within it, participating in the forthcoming autonomy elections?

[Al-Shaqaqi] I do not have the slightest doubt that Hamas would participate in the coming elections if the election law were to be drafted in such a way so as not to force it to refuse. If the election rules are acceptable and not unfair to Hamas and the opposition in general, I believe, without any doubt, that they would participate in the elections.

[Qallab] The question on the minds of people concerned with the Palestinian question is whether or not there is a real possibility of civil war in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

[Al-Shaqaqi] A civil war like the Lebanese civil war would be difficult and unlikely to break out, but I have no doubt whatsoever that there will be a bloody clash in which a large number of Palestinians will be killed, especially in the Gaza Strip, and I do not exclude the West Bank. I believe that the chances of a bloody clash between the PNA on one hand and Hamas and the Islamic Jihad on the other are very strong and getting stronger with time.

[Qallab] Do you mean that the current mediations will not produce any results?

[Al-Shaqaqi] The current mediations do not address the core of the problem. They are trying to tackle the present situation. The core of the problem is that 'Arafat is trying to contain Hamas or destroy it. He does not want it to have a share in power, and Hamas would not agree to stop the armed struggle and have a truce with 'Arafat unless there is a real gain for it. A movement that is strong and deeply rooted in Palestinian society cannot agree to disappear just because 'Arafat and Israel want it to.

'Arafat should realize that Hamas would be prepared to play politics if he would be prepared to give it a share of power and Palestinian decisionmaking.

[Qallab] Assuming that the doors of dialogue are closed, do you believe that the balances of power would enable Hamas to become a parallel authority to the PNA?

[Al-Shaqaqi] That is extremely unlikely. 'Arafat certainly has enought military power to destroy any armed action by Hamas, the [Islamic] Jihad, or any other Palestinian party. The problem is that 'Arafat does not have the political will to use force to finish off the Islamic trends and Hamas.

'Arafat cannot possibly take that step. He does not have overwhelming popular support while the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are still occupied and while there are settlements there. In these circumstances the Palestinian public would not accept the idea of putting an end to armed struggle by Hamas or anyone else. 'Arafat knows and realizes that. That is why, in the present circumstances, it would be extremly difficult and out of the question to make the political decision to destroy the military presence of Hamas, but he will certainly seek to contain it and chop off its wings if it decided to continue to ignore him and challenge his legitimacy, as is the case at present. [passage omitted]

[Qallab] Do Hamas's attempts to cause 'Arafat to fail in Gaza mean that it wants the West Bank to be returned to Jordan?

[Al-Shaqaqi] I believe that Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood would welcome Jordan's return to the West Bank. If the choice is between the PLO and 'Arafat on the one hand and Jordan on the other, they would certainly choose Jordan and its return to the West Bank.

The Muslim Brotherhood believes that it has strong widespread influence in Jordan, more so than in the West Bank and Gaza. Therefore it believes that Jordan's return to the West Bank would boost its influence, and that would not be unacceptable.

I believe that the aim of what Hamas is doing is partly to embarrass 'Arafat and undermine his ability to control the security situation in Gaza so as to prevent him extending his power to the West Bank, in the hope that the West Bank would again come under Jordanian control. [passage omitted]

Paper Calls For Sides To 'Rescue' Peace Process

TA2811160194 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM TIMES in English 25 Nov 94 p 4

[Editorial: "If Not Now, When?"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The bloody events in Gaza last week created a sense of anguish and pain in the hearts of the Palestinian people. Instead of collecting the fruits of peace and working to eliminate the crisis of unemployment by lifting the Israeli-imposed siege and building a solid Palestinian infrastructure, the Palestinian people observed with shock the developments in Gaza. Fear spread throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip that this would be the first in a series of similar bloody confrontations.

However, our people are standing firmly against these kinds of incidents, with dozens of statements pouring forth calling for the cessation of bloodshed. The statements confirm that Palestinian blood is sacred, the spilling of which is a dire warning for the relations between the Palestinian National Authority [PNA] and the opposition.

Consequently, the most basic need of the Palestinian people in the wake of the violence is national unity. The peace process has only just begun—the second phase of the Oslo Agreement has yet to be implemented in the occupied West Bank.

National unity must not merely be ink on paper or a passing wish. It should be elevated, built solidly on clear principles agreed upon by the PNA and the opposition. Disputes must be solved peacefully.

The only authority responsible for the security and the welfare of the Palestinian people is the Palestinian National Authority itself. An existence of a second authority at the same time will mean more bloodshed and more disputes.

The Palestinian opposition exists and has rights as well as duties. The opposition has the right to express its political stance freely, including its refusal of the Oslo Agreement. However, the opposition also has a duty to accept dialogue and avoid the use of violence at all times.

All of the above is perhaps overstating the obvious. However, the bloody incident in Gaza compels us to reiterate these thoughts so that similar events will never transpire, regardless of the circumstances.

Yet, Palestinians still face great difficulties imposed from outside. The Israeli government must immediately lift the siege imposed on the Gaza Strip and the occupied West Bank. It must also speed up the implementation of the second part of the Oslo agreement by transferring the remaining civil powers to the Palestinians and allowing legislative elections to be held. The continuation of the siege will increase the economic problems of the Palestinians and will decrease the credibility of the peace process, endangering the nascent peace.

In addition, the donor countries must fulfill their promises by expediting the delivery of aid promised to the Palestinians.

The bloody events in Gaza expressed the deep anger of the people and gravely foreshadow the possible failure of the peace process. If all sides are sincerely concerned with advancing peace in the Middle East, then why are they hesitating? The time to rescue the peace process is upon us. If not now, when?

'Ashrawi on Involving Hamas in Democratic Process

BR2811150394 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 26 Nov 94 p 17

[Report on interview with Hanan 'Ashrawi, former spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation to the Washington talks, by Umberto De Giovannangeli in Jerusalem; date not given: "Hanan 'Ashrawi Speaks: 'It Will Not Be Civil War'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "People are terrified by what happened in Gaza a week ago; there may be further clashes, but neither side wants to assume responsibility for triggering a civil war, not even Hamas. This was said by Hanan 'Ashrawi, former spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation to the Washington talks and currently active in the movement for the safeguarding of civil rights in the Palestinian territories, "starting with those administered by the Palestinian Authority." "The elections must not merely be announced; every aspect of them must be pieced together, because this is the event from which the new Palestinian governing class will emerge."

[De Giovannangeli] An armistice between the Palestinian Government and Hamas is signed in Gaza, while a furious battle between Palestinians is raging in the refugee camps in Lebanon. Is there still a danger of civil war?

['Ashrawi] I do not believe it will come to that. There may be further clashes, even serious ones, but the point of no return will not be reached. However, a lot will depend on the determination with which 'Arafat speeds up the application of the rules of democracy in every area of political and social life: The "emergency" cannot be used to justify the suppression of civil rights or the abolition of freedom of expression. The fundamentalists cannot be countered solely with force, but by creating the conditions in which they can play a part in governing the territories.

[De Giovannangeli] What is behind the violence that has exploded in Lebanon?

['Ashrawi] First of all, there is the desperation of those thousands of Palestinians who feel shut out of the peace, cut off, forgotten by the Cairo agreements. Their right to return to Palestine cannot be denied; it must be negotiated with Israel.

[De Giovannangeli] Yasir 'Arafat has announced the forthcoming elections. What is your view of this decision?

['Ashrawi] It is undoubtedly a decisive step toward building a democratic state that will be different from the Arab regimes prevalent in the Middle East. But precisely because they take on this significance, the elections must not be improvised or regarded as a mere expedient to put the brake on a crisis situation. The electoral rolls have to be drawn up, a proper census of the whole population of the territories must be undertaken, and the conditions in which truly free and decisive elections can be held must be guaranteed.

[De Giovannangeli] What are the thorniest issues on the agenda?

['Ashrawi] Apart from the organizational problems, which are anything but marginal, there is still a political knot to be unraveled: On what we shall be called upon to vote. And there are still considerable differences of opinion with Israel as to the powers that the self-ruling body ought to exercise. As far as we are concerned, the elections ought to lead to the appointment of an "Autonomy Council" with broad legislative powers, and not merely administrative functions, which is what Israel wants. The "Autonomy Council" constitutes the cornerstone of the parliament of the Palestinian state that we want to build up in the territories, hence the importance of the forthcoming elections, a decisive step in the history of the Palestinian people.

[De Giovannangeli] Is it possible to involve Hamas in this democratic process?

['Ashrawi] I hope so, and in any case I consider that every effort must be made to achieve this goal. On the other hand, Hamas is a complex phenomenon, which is rooted in Palestinian society and cannot be reduced solely to its terrorist aspects. There are leaders active in the Islamic camp who are open to dialogue, with whom a compromise can be reached. Denying their existence merely plays into the hands of the movement's militaristic wing. In any case, if Hamas is to be curbed, the root causes that nourish it will have to be removed.

[De Giovannangeli] What is the main cause?

['Ashrawi] The dashed hopes of the population of the territories, the loss of credibility of the peace process: Too many delays have built up, too much coercion has been exerted by Israel, and few of the promises of aid have been honored to date by the international community. 'Arafat has undoubtedly made mistakes in his handling of autonomy, starting with an excessive concentration of powers, but the main blame for what is happening rests without any doubt on Yitzhaq Rabin, who, by postponing the implementation of the Oslo agreements and placing the Palestinian Authority under continuous scrutiny, has ended up by turning the negotiations into one long humiliation in the eyes of Palestinians.

[De Giovannangeli] On several occasions, 'Arafat has offered you a place in the Palestinian Government, but your reply has always been negative. Why is that?

['Ashrawi] Because I thought it more useful and fulfilling to create an organization to safeguard individual and collective rights and liberties in the autonomous territories, an organization whose tasks include that of monitoring the legality of the actions of the public institutions and their individual officials. It is hard work, believe me, because after 27 years of military occupation, it is not easy to create from scratch a climate of civil rights in which, for example, sex equality and freedom of expression are respected. But enormous strides ahead have been made in the first five months of autonomy. We Palestinians are very ambitious: We want an independent state that is also a model of democracy.

[De Giovannangeli] What does Yasir 'Arafat represent for you today?

['Ashrawi] A leader going through a period of extreme difficulty, in many respects the most difficult period in his long political career. 'Arafat must be helped, but not encouraged in his errors. Helped to "build" a new governing class founded on the criterion of individual ability and not fidelity or a carving up of power among the various factions. The elections can serve this purpose as well.

Hamas Leader on 'Agents,' Relations With PA

JN3011132894 Amman AL-SABIL in Arabic 29 Nov-4 Dec 94 pp 32, 9

[Interview with Hamas leader Mahmud al-Zahhar by Musa Hawamidah in Gaza; date not given]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Hawamidah] Where do you stand now on the assassination operations inside the [Gaza] Strip?

[Al-Zahhar] First, we will forcefully oppose agents. Israeli Television has reported that a group of agents is being trained in Israel. This means that agents have infiltrated the [Palestinian] Authority [PA] and have reached high positions, with the knowledge of the Authority. Israel is procrastinating on the issue of prisoners to pressure 'Arafat into issuing a general amnesty for the agents. The Israelis have equated between the most honorable people and the worst people. This serious issue has undermined the dignity of every individual. We stopped killing agents to give them a chance. The agents, however, killed Nasir Saluhah. They were arrested and handed over to the Authority so that they would stand trial. So far, the Authority has not taken any step to convince the people that it is the party that will restore their rights. Now, another person has been killed. Do you think Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement], the [Islamic] Jihad, or even Fatah will wait until a car is detonated tomorrow or we enter civil war? We should adopt a firm stand as regards agents.

[Hawamidah] How do you evaluate Hamas' relations with other Palestinian factions opposed to the Oslo agreement?

[Al-Zahhar] Our relations are on two levels. The first is our relations abroad, which are restricted to coordination. Unfortunately, all their attempts to draft a formula failed. Hamas is not responsible for this, and I do not want to blame others now. However, everybody knows why these attempts failed.

The second level is our relations inside [the occupied territory]. Our relations with Habash [leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, PFLP] are good. We hold meetings and preparations on the popular level. Our stand toward the [Islamic] Jihad is also clear. We do not differentiate between one martyr and another. What happened was premeditated. We call for a legislative council in which the PFLP, Fatah, Hamas, and the Authority are represented.

[Hawamidah] Do you view the Authority as a Fatah authority or something different?

[Al-Zahhar] Yes, it is different. Fatah is telling us now that it is different from the Authority's party. We say that there is Fatah, the Authority's party, and the honest Fatah. Some of these honest Fatah members are in the Authority and others are not. Fatah suffers from domineering elements and from agents who assumed high posts in the Authority at the expense of the honest people.

[Hawamidah] Are there no Hamas members who joined the Authority or the police?

[Al-Zahhar] Among the 9,000 policemen there are only 40 Hamas members, and this is a low figure. It is known that we have not joined the Authority. Our position on this is clear. [passage omitted]

[Hawamidah] How do you view Arab regimes that oppose Islamists?

[Al-Zahhar] Our stand in Hamas is not to interfere in the internal affairs of any Arab regime. Our attention is concentrated on Palestine, Jerusalem, and the Islamic character of Palestine. Our sacrifices go beyond words and vituperations to actual sacrifices of real blood that stained Jerusalem just as it did on 15 July in 99 [as published], when the Crusaders entered it and killed 70,000 people. At that time, there were 1,000 soldiers and a ruler, who were all martyred. We are heading in the same direction.

[Hawamidah] What do you think of the disagreement between the PLO and Jordan over Jerusalem, which is out of their control?

[Al-Zahhar] This is a pathetic situation. There were meetings between King Husayn and 'Arafat. They should have sat together and agreed on a unified stand against Israel. Veteran or fresh politicians cannot understand how they can allow Israel to play on their differences to weaken them both and emerge winning. [passage omitted]

[Hawamidah] The Authority has blamed Hamas for claiming responsibility, from Gaza mosques, for the kidnapping of the soldier [Wachsman].

[Al-Zahhar] No responsibility was claimed from the Gaza mosques for the operation. Israel had spread these rumors. Secondly, the operation was not announced from any mosque. This is an Israeli lie against the Filastin mosque to instigate the Authority against Hamas.

[Hawamidah] How do you view the political Islamic model in Jordan? The Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan has set a good example and has taken part in the authority to highlight the civilized image of Islam that does not clash with the West. Islam is democratic; why do you not implement this in Gaza?

[Al-Zahhar] The situation here is quite different. The Muslim Brotherhood is part of the authority in Egypt and the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan has entered the Parliament which is not under Israel's control. The Jordanian Parliament is an Arab parliament. They are offering what they have to the Jordanian people. If 51 percent say yes, they can change everything in Jordan in favor of Islam. But, here if we enter, we will enter under the umbrella of the self-rule to implement the self-rule and nothing else. Therefore, we propose to them the known plan, that is, parliamentary elections for a national Palestinian council without any conditions. If 51 percent of the Palestinian people say yes to us, we would effect changes and implement our social, political, and economic programs. This, however, is not available under the self-rule. Even if you have majority when you enter the self-rule you are only to implement the self-rule agreement.

Civilians To Be Disarmed Regardless of 'Affiliation'

JN2811140594 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 28 Nov 94 pp 32, 25

[Report by Tawfiq 'Abid]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Preliminary investigations into the bloody Gaza incidents have proven that armed men outside the Filastin Mosque fired at the Palestinian police, instantly killing one of its members. Moreover, weapons and ammunition not carried by the Palestinian National Security forces have been discovered and a decision has been made to ban the carrying of any weapons during meetings and rallies held by the Islamic opposition.

This was confirmed by Walid Zaqqut, head of the negotiations affairs department and member of the Refugees Committee, who arrived in Amman from Gaza two days ago. He said: The investigation committee, which includes judiciary and security representatives whose names and number have not been disclosed purely for security reasons, launched a series of investigations on the second day of the bloody incidents to uncover the dimensions of these incidents and to bring those responsible to justice.

He told AL-DUSTUR that in recent days, Hamas leaders have been seeking to show that a third party is tampering with the overall events and taking advantage of differences which led to the fall of Palestinian victims. He said that the investigations will surely reveal the identity of the third party.

Mr. Zaqqut continued: Now, there is no escalation by any party and the situation on the Palestinian street is becoming calm. This is as a result of reaffirming the authority and sovereignty of the law and the leadership of the Palestinian Authority and its responsibility for the entire Gaza Strip and the Palestinian people regardless of their affiliation.

He noted that in response to national and popular demands, a series of legal measures will be adopted, most prominent of which is the disarming of all civilians regardless of their political affiliation and to pursue agents, infiltrators, and troublemakers. Moreover, a permit must be obtained prior to staging a march or holding a speech rally and mosques should be used only as places of worship.

He said: The Ministry of Awqaf's role will be activated in terms of direct administration and supervision of mosques. He noted that these measures are the result of popular demands to protect the law and allow it to prevail, to have the National Authority as the only party responsible for the Palestinian territories and all the people, and for defending their interests and rights.

Mr. Zaqqut added: On the general level, the situation in the Gaza Strip is extremely difficult due to its total destruction as a result of the policies and practices of the occupation. This left Gaza without any services or infrastructure worth mentioning. It also laid heavy burdens on the National Authority that require huge amounts of money and extensive efforts to face the problems in the Gaza Strip.

Mr. Zaqqut held the donor countries and World Bank responsible for the exacerbation of the economic situation, especially because they did not fulfill their financial obligations on time to solve the unemployment problem, which is the biggest problem facing the National Authority and is threatening the emergence of famine and real poverty inside the Gaza Strip. [passage omitted]

Commission on Gaza Bloodshed Hears Testimony

TA2911082694 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0505 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The judicial inquiry commission appointed by PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat to investigate the recent bloodshed in the Gaza Strip started work yesterday and heard testimony from six witnesses. Our correspondent Yoni Ben-Menahem reports:

[Begin recording] [Ben-Menahem] The inquiry commission appointed by Yasir 'Arafat to investigate the bloody incidents which took place in Gaza interviewed six witnesses yesterday. Among the witnesses interrogated yesterday by the commission at the Gaza Magistrate's Court were people who had been injured in the incident and just discharged from hospital several days ago. Colonel Muhammad Dahlan, the head of the preventive security service in the Gaza Strip also testified before the commission yesterday. The hearings were held in camera but Khalid Husayn, one of the witnesses who appeared before the commission yesterday, said he had received the impression that the five members of the commission were conducting a thorough job. In his deposition, Khalid Husayn stressed that it was the Palestinian Police who fired at the worshippers. [passage omitted]

The police began shooting at them, Husayn said. They were wearing both uniforms and civilian clothes. They were not collaborators. If there were collaborators, then they were either employed by the Palestinian Police or acting under their auspices.

Sources in the Gaza Strip said that Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] activists who witnessed the clashes also intend to testify before the inquiry commission in a bid to influence its conclusions. The PA has still not appointed the members of a public commission also slated to investigate the issue. [end recording]

ILO To Give Labor Ministry $500,000

JN2811163294 Jericho Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1515 GMT 28 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Authority [NA] Labor Ministry has signed a $500,000-agreement with the International Labor Organization [ILO] to support the ministry in terms of technical and scientific equipment, training classes, and vocational workshops in foreign countries. NA Labor Minister Samir Ghawshah will meet with the Egyptian labor minister on 3 December to discuss cooperation between the two sides. Ghawshah will also meet with the Jordanian labor minister in mid-December for the same purpose.

New West Bank Paper on Need To Support 'Arafat

TA0112074194 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0505 GMT 1 Dec 94

[Report by Yoni Ben Menahem]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] For 12 years, Nabil 'Amr was Yasir 'Arafat's political adviser and confidant. He spent several years as the PLO ambassador in Moscow and arrived in the territories some two months ago. 'Amr is currently the editor of a new weekly called AL-HAYAT AL-JADIDA, meaning THE NEW LIFE, published in the West Bank. Despite the fact that Nabil 'Amr is currently one of those who call for reforms in the PLO and level harsh criticism at 'Arafat, he has come to 'Arafat's aid. [passage omitted]

Yasir 'Arafat finds it hard to fight Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement], 'Amr said. He has his own reasoning and a status to maintain on the Palestinian scene. If too much pressure is applied to him on this matter, he may lose his standing, in which case the threat to Israel will increase, 'Amr warns.

'Amr calls on Israel to implement the second part of the Oslo agreement, remove its forces from the West Bank, and allow elections. Israel must make concessions on the army redeployment and not on its security. [passage omitted]

Security will not be attained only with the help of military forces but with a strong, elected Palestinian body that will implement the agreements with Israel, 'Amr stressed.

In the territories, they are saying that the fact that even 'Arafat's critics in the PLO are coming to his rescue at this time means that Hamas is growing stronger and threatening the hegemony of the Palestinian Authority.

Columnist Urges 'Democratic Change' To Save 'Arafat

NC2911194294 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 24 Nov 94 p 8

[Article by Salamah Ahmad Salamah from the "In Close Up" column: " 'Arafat in the Trap"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is the same old story, except that in the past it was between the Palestinians and the Israeli occupation troops. Now it is between the sons of the Palestinian people, those who trusted the peace agreement with Israel and complied with its provisions and conditions; those who were, for many reasons, disappointed with peace.

Ever since the Oslo agreement was announced, all warnings and expectations have revolved around the possibility of splits in the Palestinian ranks that could lead to bloody conflicts, while Israel innocently rubs its hands in delight that the sentiments of frustration and hostility are now directed against a helpless "Palestinian National Authority" that is encircled within its own homeland; an authority that received many promises, none of which it can achieve.

This can rightfully be considered the trap into which 'Arafat fell when he left himself vulnerable to Israeli threats and pressures that gave him the option of standing up to the Palestinian opposition to protect Israel's security and settlements or of helping him undertake his responsibilities and implement the remaining articles of the self-rule agreement. Added to these pressures, the United States and donor states limited themselves to the role of bystanders and failed to honor their promises. Their excuse was that they were waiting until proper Palestinian institutions were firmly established and until the situation calmed down in Gaza. 'Arafat has not succeeded in either winning the confidence of his opponents or in maintaining the security situation in the manner favored by Israel and America.

What was anticipated happened when the situation blew up in Gaza and 'Arafat slipped along the course Israel had drawn for him, when the Palestinian police arrested 130 Palestinian in the wake of a fedayeen operation that came in response to the assassination of a Palestinian leader. Then the Palestinian police fired "point blank" on thousands of Palestinian demonstrators, killing 13 of the sons of the Palestinian people in an incident precedented only by the Israeli occupation troops.

These bloody events have undoubtedly contributed to the isolation and weakening of 'Arafat and the National Authority and, accordingly, the peace process. It is pointless to blame foreign powers and accuse them of inciting or lighting the fuse. The bombs that led to the blow up were already there—in the appalling conditions in Gaza, in 'Arafat's despotic conduct, in the donor states' idleness, and in Israel's procrastination and constant pressures.

President Mubarak's warnings might urge donor states to provide assistance. But this is not enough to save 'Arafat and the peace agreement. This must be accompanied by a democratic change in 'Arafat's stance to attract the reserved and antagonist elements in the PLO and those who went astray and to build bridges of understanding with hardliners in Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] and other organizations. Otherwise, the Palestinian National Authority will find itself compelled to dance to Tel Aviv's tune. Another blow up like that which occurred last Friday [18 November] is bound to knock down 'Arafat and whatever remains of the Oslo agreement.

Egypt

Mubarak Leaves for Damascus for Talks With al-Asad

NC0112093094 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0855 GMT 1 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Cairo, 1 Dec (MENA)—President Muhammad Husni Mubarak left Cairo for Damascus this morning on a brief visit, during which he will hold talks with Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad. The talks will deal with developments in the Middle East peace process in light of the talks and contacts President Mubarak had with European leaders during his recent tour.

The talks between Presidents Mubarak and al-Asad will focus on means to promote relations between Syria and Egypt in the various fields.

President Mubarak is accompanied by a ranking official delegation consisting of Engineer Sulayman Mutawalli, minister of transport and communications; Engineer Mahir Abazah, minister of electricity and energy; Information Minister Safwat al-Sharif; Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa; Dr. Zakariya 'Azmi, chief of the Presidential Office; and Dr. Usamah al-Baz, Foreign Ministry first under secretary and director of the Presidential Office for Political Affairs.

Mubarak Receives Moroccan Minister, Message

NC3011102394 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0932 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Cairo, 30 Nov (MENA)—President Muhammad Husni Mubarak this morning received Moroccan Cultural Affairs Minister Mohamed Allal Sinasser. Moroccan Ambassador in Cairo Abdellatif Mlin also attended the meeting. The Moroccan minister arrived in Cairo last night carrying a message to President Husni Mubarak from Moroccan King Hassan II within the framework of exchanging views on Arab and international issues.

Musa Denounces Major Powers' Policy in Bosnia

NC3011163594 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 1500 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Arab Republic of Egypt has denounced the defeatism shown by some major world powers toward Serbian aggression and their attempts to acquiesce to this aggression at the expense of the Bosnian people's rights and sovereignty.

Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa said that this defeatist policy has angered the Egyptian people. Although the conflict is not considered a religious one, the bias in favor of the Serbs raises many questions.

Musa said this policy smacks of a double standard and a bias in favor of the Serbian aggression. It is also a departure from principles of the UN Charter and international law. These principles affirm respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, the inadmissibility of the seizure of lands by force, and protection for human rights, which have been swept away by the ethnic cleansing policy. This ethnic cleansing policy has so far gone unpunished.

Musa said the whole matter is a big stigma for the new world order and a bad omen for the future of international relations, especially in the Balkans and the Mediterranean.

Government To Send Humanitarian Aid to Bosnia

NC3011150394 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1438 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Cairo, 30 Nov (MENA)—The Arab Republic of Egypt has decided to send immediate humanitarian aid to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa said today that this aid includes food and medicine. He added that the Egyptian authorities are in contact with the International Committee of the Red Cross and the United Nations to secure delivery of this aid.

Report on Denial of Explosives Smuggling to Gaza

NC3011195794 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1924 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Cairo, 30 Nov (MENA)—An Interior Ministry official security source has denied Israeli press reports that Palestinian "Islamist" movements are using explosives brought in from Egypt in their operations.

The source said that these reports are baseless and that no instance of smuggling of explosives or weapons from Egypt to the Gaza Strip, other Palestinian territories, or Israel has ever been recorded.

AFP Reports Further Details

NC3011161394 Paris AFP in English 1455 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Cairo, Nov 30 (AFP)—The security services on Wednesday [30 November] denied an Israeli report that Palestinian Islamic militants were smuggling explosives from Egypt for bomb attacks on Jews.

"This report is completely unfounded," Lieutenant Tamir al- Saghir, an interior ministry spokesman, told AFP.

"No arms or explosives trafficking operation has been recorded between Egypt and the Palestinian territories or between Egypt and Israel," the officer insisted.

The JERUSALEM POST newspaper, quoting a senior Israeli security official, said on November 21 that explosives used by Islamic militants to carry out suicide attacks had been smuggled in from Egypt.

The explosives had entered the Palestinian self-rule area of Gaza through tunnels near the border town of Rafah and by sea, the official told an Israeli cabinet meeting.

AL-AHRAM Defends Country's Position on Libya

NC0112080494 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 0435 GMT 1 Dec 94

[From the press review]

[FBIS Translated Text] The newspaper AL-AHRAM, in a commentary entitled "The Path of Right And Justice," says that as a leading Arab country with a rich history, Egypt acts as a safety valve and a source of balance in the Arab region and the Middle East. As such, it always seeks to serve the principles of justice, right, and freedom and respects the will and sovereignty of peoples. A country with such a policy and belief in dealings with others does not shy away from declaring its clear-cut stance and frank views in unambiguous terms regarding issues of interest to the Arab nation in particular.

The paper adds: The Egyptian position has been clear and frank from the start of the Libyan-Western crisis over the so-called Lockerbie issue. Egypt has sided with right, logic, the state's national sovereignty, and the people' right to a dignified life, away from methods of repression and oppression. Despite Egypt's good relations and various interests with the United States and the Western European states, this did not affect its position that respects the principles of justice and necessitates the need for the world community to treat Libya as an independent and sovereign nation and for the defendants to receive a fair trial.

The paper adds: Despite Egypt's belief in the soundness of the Libyan position regarding the need for the trial procedures to be impartial, it abided by the world community's will and the Security Council's resolution imposing sanctions on Libya.

'Deep Divisions' in Bar Association Discussed

NC0112113294 Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY in English 24-30 Nov 94 p 3

[FIBS Translated Text] There are growing signs of deep divisions in the ranks of the Muslim Brotherhood members dominating the council of the Bar Association. According to non-Islamist council members, Sayf-Al-Islam Hasan al-Banna, the council's secretary-general, and treasurer Mukhtar Nuh have exchanged accusations of financial malpractices on more than one occasion in public.

"On several occasions over the past six months, they yelled at one another before whole crowds of lawyers in the middle of the association's halls," said Tahani al-Jabali, a Nasserist council member. "Each accused the other of involvement in financial irregularities... What they are talking about is more than 3 million pounds."

According to other council sources, al-Banna repeatedly accused Nuh of exercising a monopoly over decision-making, going beyond the budget, assigning the syndicate's expansion projects to a certain contractor in return for special favours and over-spending on advertisements. For his side, Nuh accused al-Banna of profiteering by assigning the association's printing and publishing activities to a printing house which he owns and also of going beyond the budget.

"Each has kept saying that they have enough documents and material evidence to incriminate the other," said Samih 'Ashur, another Nasserist council member. "They have shown some documents to other council members but never gave them copies."

Many lawyers believe that the exchange of accusations and counter-accusations is the result of a power conflict raging between the two men over accession to the chairmanship of the syndicate. Husni al-'Arishi, a council member from the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP), noted that the current term of Ahmad al-Khawajah, the association's chairman, which will end in 1996, will be his last. "There will be elections. Al-Banna believes that he has the right to be the next chairman but Nuh also has his eye on the post. This is what started the conflict and I think it will go on escalating as we get closer to 1996," Al-'Arishi said.

Interviewed by AL-AHRAM WEEKLY, both Al-Banna and Nuh insisted that what has been going on is simply "a difference of opinion on administrative matters" which could happen anywhere. Nuh accused the "opponents of the successful Islamist trend" of using some newspapers and magazines "to spit out their poison and tarnish the image of the trend". Al-Banna said, "The time is not ripe to publicise these differences."

Both, who reportedly pledged the leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood to patch up their differences, refused to speak any further. However, council sources said the exchange of accusations is continuing, if not escalating.

The power conflict is said to have surfaced last June when Nuh and other Islamist lawyers were arrested on charges of instigating an anti-government demonstration to protest the death of lawyer 'Abd-al-Harith Madani while in police custody. Al-Banna is said to have dragged his feet on campaigning for the release of Nuh and the other lawyers.

Each is said to be building up supporters now for what appears to be an inevitable showdown. Al- Banna reportedly offered to take the anti-Nuh evidence which he has to prosecution authorities if he were assured of support from other council members. But some members were not prepared to lend him support gratis and insisted that they should be given the post of treasurer, or treasurer's assistant, in return. Nuh, for his part, is said to have rewarded lawyers who took his side with financial assistance and bonuses. But the money he handed out did not buy him enough support that would have encouraged him to "make a serious move to oust al-Banna," sources said.

The council's chairman, Ahmad al-Khawajah, has refrained so far from taking a position. Some lawyers said they were angry because he did nothing to examine the authenticity of the accusations exchanged by al-Banna and Nuh. According to 'Ashur and al-Jabali, al-Khawajah is waiting for the next council meeting, due in early December, when both al-Banna and Nuh will be required to explain their positions. Al-Khawajah himself could not be reached because he was travelling outside the country.

Islamist lawyers are worried that the power conflict might undermine the power the Islamists have over the syndicate. "All this is the work of our enemies who want to see the Islamists out of the council," said 'Ala' Hijazi, an Islamist lawyer. To Hijazi and other Islamists, whether veterans or new converts, losing control over the syndicate's council would be a serious blow. Under the present council, Islamist lawyers reportedly enjoy great privileges. Favoritism is said to be manifested in terms of financial aid for medical treatment and social support, especially for the families of political detainees.

The present council was elected in 1992. With nine out of its 24 members belonging to the outlawed Muslim Brotherhood, plus six sympathisers, its election marked the fall of the Bar Association under Islamist control.

The Supreme Guide and other leading figures of the Muslim Brotherhood are said to be "furious" about the open conflict between al-Banna, son of the organisation's founder, and Nuh, a promising figure in the organisation's new generation.

"It was the Supreme Guide who kept them from going to the prosecutor with the documents which they have against other each," said 'Ashur. Ma'mun al-Hudaybi, the organisation's spokesman, confirmed that his office stepped in to "mediate between them (al-Banna and Nuh) because both are brothers belonging to the organisation." He added, however, that the organiation "does not interfere" in the financial management of the Bar Association. Al-Hudaybi described the conflict as a "simple matter of differing opinions to which all people, the Muslim Brotherhood included, are entitled."

According to lawyer Mahmud al-Azhari, the last episode in the conflict took place this week when Nuh refused to endorse a financial aid cheque signed by al-Banna. Many lawyers believe the power conflict will continue raging until either al-Banna or Nuh emerges victorious after removing his opponent from the council.

UN Envoy's Address Urges Progress in Peace Talks

NC0112064794 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2225 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] United Nations, 30 Nov (MENA)—Nabil al-'Arabi, Egypt's permanent representative at the United Nations has declared that achieving comprehensive peace in the Middle East requires prompt progress on the Syrian and Lebanese negotiating tracks so that Syria can restore full sovereignty over its entire occupied territory on the Golan Heights and UN Security Council Resolution 425 on south Lebanon can be implemented.

Al-'Arabi said that movement toward peace is one integral whole and if all the parties show earnest goodwill, then all the nations in the region will give their full support and agree to make any sacrifices for the sake of a complete peace.

In his statement to the UN General Assembly tonight at the start of the discussion of "the Situation in the Middle East," al-'Arabi noted that Egypt went through the peace experience under difficult circumstances and made many sacrifices but this did not deter it from clinging to the peace option. He said the provisions of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty—representing a sound interpretation of the formula of a full peace for the full restoration of territory—stand aloft, an example to be followed. He added that Egypt is proud of its pioneering experience, the success of which meant the current peace operation could begin.

Al-'Arabi stated that Egypt continues to support the peace talks, is hosting the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations that seek to implement the Palestinian-Israeli Declaration of Principles, and is encouraging Israel and the remaining Arab parties to make similar progress on all the negotiating tracks. He pointed out that Egypt is also participating in the multilateral talks on regional cooperation, which constitute a strong incentive for all the parties to make progress in the bilateral negotiations.

He declared that Egypt is particularly interested in the multilateral talks on arms reduction and hopes that they will reach the goal that Egypt has consistently advocated at the General Assembly, and outside the United Nations, namely, establishing a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East. He added that Egypt has frequently urged abandoning the concepts of hegemony, military superiority, and the occupation of territory as ways of achieving security, asserting that the real and effective guarantee of security for all sides can only be achieved under the aegis of a comprehensive and just peace.

The Egyptian representative declared that the possession of nuclear weapons by one Middle Eastern country is a threat to the entire region's security and stability and increases the likelihood of the proliferation of such weapons among other countries in the region.

He said that Egypt therefore calls on Israel to begin serious negotiations over nuclear disarmament, agree to place its nuclear installations under international supervision, and join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

Al-'Arabi added that since Israel has not yet agreed to begin negotiations over nuclear disarmament within the multilateral talks, we are waiting for it to adopt swift confidence-building measures in this area. He explained that such measures will prove that it is earnest about joining the multilateral disarmament talks and renewing the world's trust in the nonproliferation system, which will face a real test of credibility worldwide next year.

Writer Views U.S. Press Campaign

NC2511172794 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 19 Nov 94 p 8

[Article by Usamah al-Ghazali Harb: "Egypt and America: Friendship Not Subordination"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is not hard for anyone following the American press these days to notice what is almost a "campaign" of criticizing domestic conditions in Egypt and assailing the Egyptian political system and president. America is a big, diverse, and free country where it is hard to take an article or group of articles in several of its many newspapers as indicative of an official or semi-official inclination in the United States in general. But the appearance of similar writings on important forums over a limited period can be taken either as a sign of a general line pursued by one or some decisionmaking circles in American politics or as the disposition of specific pressure groups in American society that seek to achieve specific goals. Either way, these writings may imply particular warning "messages."

Whatever the case may be, these writings have reached the point that they deserve a pose to confront them, not on the official or government level, but on the level of the press, the media, and public opinion. If such writings could eventually influence American public opinion and reflect a particular tendency or influence the decisionmaker in America, we in Egypt too should send them our clear assessment and view of these campaigns and also enlighten the Egyptian public about the spirit and implications of these campaigns. We should also support the decisionmaker in Egypt as a precautionary measure against the wind that these unpleasant and not-so-innocent insinuations foreshadow.

The first thing we notice about these writings and views is the spirit of "arrogance" that characterizes many of them. This was the spirit American citizens were warned against by their great compatriot William Fulbright, who daringly condemned the idea of Americans acting not only as messengers who came to save mankind, but as a superpower that need only give orders to be obeyed. In the new international climate, unknown by Fulbright, a climate that seats America at the top of the world order, or should we say disorder, it is only logical for new breeds of the arrogance of power to flourish. These breeds find their venue in the ultra- conservative rightists, many of whom might control more positions of political influence following the recent elections.

The second feature that characterizes some of the writings is the failure to distinguish between America's interests and the interests of its friends. It is true that a long-standing, close friendship between two countries creates common interests. But this does not mean that either need be without its own interests or the perspective in which each views its interests, a perspective that necessarily differs from the other's.

The third feature is the high degree of simplification, probably naivete, with which they understand domestic conditions in our country, many of the major political values, like democracy, human rights, and all related systems, mechanisms, and conditions. They handle these things as rigid prototypes that are applied regardless of the social and cultural contexts in which they are implanted. As American history in the past few decades has shown, most of America's friends in the Third World have always been strangers to democracy. American lessons and preaching have failed to transfer democracy to these friends.

The fourth feature is that many of the writings about domestic conditions are selective and depend on rumors and hearsay from salons and coffeeshops more than on a true political analysis or specific and accurate information. That some of the authors of these writings are veteran journalists or writers does not mean their conduct is above suspicion or that their pore concepts do not govern their choice of incidents or illustrations they cite.

These features appeared in articles in several prominent American newspapers that highlight Egyptian-American differences on some issues, primarily Egyptian-Libyan relations, the Egyptian position on curbing nuclear armament in the Middle East, the arrangements for economic cooperation in the Middle East, and domestic conditions in Egypt.

As far as Libya is concerned, some American circles believe that Egypt is violating the embargo imposed on Libya over the Lockerbie issue. They believe that Egypt is supporting the Libyan regime, that this stance disregards American interests and feelings, and that it is necessary to alert and warn the Egyptian Government against the risks involved. Well, Egypt has respected the international resolutions concerning Libya and complied with the level of the embargo. The Americans have the means to verify this. But the essence here is that Egypt's strategic interests where Libya is concerned are different from American interests. It follows that the conditions, methodology, and limits of applying this embargo are different from what the American circles want to dictate, overlooking the individuality of the Egyptian position.

Libya is an African neighbor and has a common border with Egypt, with all the resulting strategic and security implications. It is not a north American country sharing a border with the United States. There are hundreds of thousands of Egyptian workers in Libya helping it develop and earning their living working there. The United States does not have that number of Americans in Libya. The Libyan people are an Arab Muslim people and have strong, very close ties with the Egyptian people. They are not immigrants who settled on a piece of land in the American continent. Egypt has agreements with Libya that regulate much of the two countries' commercial and economic relations and from which many Egyptian companies, merchants, and businessmen benefit. This is quite different with regard to the situation with the United States.

This means that Egypt is required to obey U.S. orders and sensitivities and ignore its interests and those of its people. Egypt must combine its respect for and commitment to the international community's resolutions with protecting and taking care of its own interests. Libya is not merely a country that shares a border with Egypt; it is a country within the Egyptian security belt, if such an expression can be used. The Egyptian State's current battle against terrorists and terrorism clearly evinces this axiom. Egyptian diplomacy has dealt with the Lockerbie case and its repercussions cautiously and responsibly and intervened to convince the Libyan leadership to cooperate responsibly with the international demands to expose the perpetrators. Egyptian diplomacy has done this out of its conviction that more sanctions against Libya would directly harm Egyptian interests and that letting the conflict reach a confrontation or military clash would cause tension and problems on Egypt's western strategic axis, something it must avoid; it must reduce such a possibility as much as possible.

It could be said that events of the past two years have proven the usefulness and effectiveness of the containment pursued by Egyptian diplomacy, not the course of clash and confrontation as demanded by some U.S. circles. Libya has stopped dealing with terrorists and stopped supporting terrorist organizations. It has announced and implemented this—as the Americans know—and has given more than one signal in responding favorably to the peace process in the region.

Egypt has for years followed this firm policy toward Libya, thus striking a balance between respect for international legitimacy and protecting its interests. But some people in the United States are trying to find other desperate explanations for the Egyptian stance. These explanations make us ask: Have these explanations anything to do with businessmen whose identity and positions are known and who have offered their "advice" and legal consultations on the Lockerbie case to the Libyan Government, businessmen who have obtained, in return for these spurious services, vast amounts of money, businessmen with whom the Libyan Government has stopped dealing?

The second, more important, point of disagreement between Egypt and America concerns Egypt's stance on the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the region. Israel owns nuclear weapons and has not signed the Nonproliferation Treaty, while Egypt, which does not own nuclear weapons, has signed the Treaty. But there are two important developments:

First there is an agreement to prevent the proliferation of chemical weapons, which Israel has signed and for which it has shown enthusiasm. But Egypt has not signed that agreement, because it links the signing with the modification of the Israeli stance on the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, "although Egypt of course does not seek to produce or own chemical weapons."

Second, in April 1995, the world will witness a conference to review and extend the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. It is understood that Egypt will not agree to the indefinite extension of the Treaty. What is required is to extend the Treaty for a limited period, during which those who possess nuclear weapons in the region—Israel—should review their position, particularly in view of the ongoing peace process.

This Egyptian stance on the chemical weapons treaty and the extension of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty angers some American circles. Unfortunately it is the stance dictated by Egypt's greater strategic interests. By what logic can a patriotic Egyptian adopt the idea that Israel's possession and monopoly of nuclear weapons is "a guarantee for security and stability" in the region, just because the Americans say so? By what logic do we declare our intention not to have chemical weapons "in the presence of the Israeli nuclear arsenal," just because Israel and America want that?

The Americans always adopt the Israeli position, which is their right. But it is Egypt's right and the right of its leadership to adopt the stance that serves its own interest. Peace between Israel and Egypt, and between Israel and the entire Arab world, justifies Egypt's concern over Israel's nuclear weapons and its view that it does not guarantee security and stability, but proves the lack of the essence of peace, that is, trusting the intentions of others. This Egyptian stance is clear, fixed, and registered very distinctly in the initiative that President Mubarak announced in April 1990, the initiative in which he called for declaring the Middle East free of all weapons of mass destruction, depending on three principles:

1. Banning all weapons of mass destruction without exception—nuclear, chemical, and biological;

2. Making all regional states, without exception, make an equal commitment, one they exchange, in that connection; and

3. Taking measures and developing the necessary mechanism to verify all the regional states' compliance with the embargo fully and without exception.

But this position does not put the Americans and Israelis at ease. We have seen no inclination in the American media to call on Israel to reveal the nuclear weapons it owns or to consent to nuclear inspection. In contrast, the U.S. Administration is being very strict in ensuring that there is not the least suspicion about some secrets or information about weapons of mass destruction in a country like Iraq, even if the cost involved in this is more humiliation for the Iraqi people and more subjection to the risks of disease and food shortages.

The third point of dispute, which might seem less important, concerns plans for regional economic cooperation in the Middle East once there is peace. There is no objection to the establishment and consolidation of ordinary economic relations between Egypt and Israel or among all the Arab states and Israel under the umbrella of peace. It was Egypt that started peace and led the process of normalization with Israel.

According to this peace, Israel will be part of the Middle East, just like any other country. But these normal relations differ greatly from the preferential collective measures to be taken within the framework of Middle East market ideas, whether in the form of a free trade zone or any other form of economic integration. Against the United States' and the "Israeli" rush to reshape the economy of the region, we have the right—as Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa said before the Casablanca Conference earlier this month—to stress that the comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict is the one that will take the Middle East from one condition to another. The logical outcome of this is the need to speed up the efforts to reach a just settlement on the Syrian and Lebanese tracks on the basis of the principles agreed on in Madrid and also the need to speed up the steps on the Palestinian track so that it will not regress.

It is not only our right to ask to link progress in economic integration with progress on the track of the peaceful and final settlement, but also to ask to link our entry into these relations with what we could achieve for our real and long-term interests. Dr. Sa'id al-Najjar, a prominent international professor of economics, whose loyalty to the peace issue I do not doubt, believes that Middle East market ideas are premature, that obstacles facing the issue now and that will face it for a long time will make it useless, and that its harm could possibly be greater than its benefits, for several reasons. The most important of these are the different levels of economic development between Israel and the Arab countries, the absence of an infrastructure, the big differences in the member states' economic systems, and the pursuit of inward- looking protectionist and strategic policies. Again this means that it is logical and axiomatic that our moves toward these projects should depend on the specific and studied benefits that we will reap from them, not merely on obtaining the approval of the United States and Israel.

Finally, there is the difference over the internal situation in Egypt and the long list of issues, ranging from terrorism to human rights. Many of these articles rely on generalities and many media studies are restricted to specific and limited aspects. It is important, there is a desire, to deal directly with the phenomena, make field trips to the scene of incidents, and interview ordinary people, and so on. But such reports, "which are ultimately limited in space and time," are taken as if they express the whole picture of Egyptian society, from north to south, incorporating all its classes, groups, and complexities.

The journalist or writer is undoubtedly excused because of the complexity of the phenomenon and the difficulty of grasping all its elements quickly. But the confidence with which some of these articles are written and the use of definite terms such as the "collapse or rise" of this or that party on the domestic policy level draws much attention to a sort of excessive arrogance and haughtiness.

More than this, there is dependence on mere rumor or the messages delivered on an issue that are needed to report specific incidents—dates, people, and so on. Since the Americans do not generally lack the means to get the facts and figures, then deliberate resorting to generalizations and accusations raises questions about the real intention behind this and about the illusions or ambitions of exercising pressure, or hinting of pressures, on Egypt and its leadership.

What is the gist of all this?

The gist is that it is important to send counter messages, since some in the United States are demanding that warning letters be sent to Egypt and its leadership. Egypt has been an old and faithful friend of the United States since the mid seventies and since Nixon's famous visit when the Egyptian people spontaneously showed that they have no problems toward the United States and even expressed their sincere desire to boost ties with it. The United States has given Egypt great economic and financial support, which cannot be ignored, but Egypt has also given the United States priceless things. It reduced Soviet influence when it existed, opened many doors for the United States, took the initiative of peace with Israel, protected it, and sponsored it for over a decade and a half. It provided the legitimacy for the U.S. and Western intervention when the Gulf states needed it to confront the Iraqi regime's idiocy and encouraged the peace process between Israel and all the Arab parties, primarily the Palestinian. Egypt also stood fast against the threats of terrorism and remains the cornerstone of the region's stability.

But what some Americans ignore or forget is that Egypt achieved all this because it has always wanted to remain independent and not become subservient to anyone. Independence, neutrality, and nonalignment are firm principles that Egypt's leaders have sought and respected, from Sa'd Zaghlul and Mustafa al-Nahhas to Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, Anwar al-Sadat, and Husni Mubarak.

Because Egypt is a leading country in the Arab, African, and Islamic world and is a leader in the Third World, it can only have an independent will. No subservient entity or agent can be a leader. Egypt was never subservient or an agent to the Soviet Union even at the height of their friendship under 'Abd-al-Nasir. Similarly, it will never be subservient or an agent to the United States under Husni Mubarak, regardless of the ties of friendship and mutual dependence.

Sudan

Al-Bashir Marks National Martyrs' Day

EA2811205994 Omdurman Republic of Sudan Radio Network in Arabic 1300 GMT 28 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Lieutenant General 'Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir, the president of the Republic and commander in chief of the People's Armed Forces, has confirmed the revolution's determination to proceed along its declared path toward the building of a Sudanese nation on the basis of science and learning derived from the Islamic faith.

Addressing the country's celebrations this morning at Atbara, marking the third National Martyrs' Day, he said that the march of the jihad, which began in the country with the aim of bringing down the pillars of colonialism and routing agents and rebels, was the best evidence of the Sudanese people's reaction to their revolution and its sincere orientation.

In this context, he referred to the rush of the sons of the people to join the ranks of the Popular Defense and National [words indistinct].

Lt. Gen. al-Bashir saluted the martyrs who had sacrificed their lives for the land and the honor of the women as well as to protect the faith. He stressed that the revolution would take care of the families and children of the martyrs and provide them with all their requirements such as housing, education, and medical treatment.

His excellency praised the people of River Nile State and their support for the martyrs' organization on which the revolution relied to implement a number of programs which serve the martyrs' families. His excellency also spoke about the revolution's efforts to develop the River Nile State in appreciation of its continuous sacrifices in all fields. He said that work was going on now to rehabilitate the infrastructure and other vital facilities in the state.

He announced his support for the Governorate of al-Damir [in River Nile State] with the sum of 30 million Sudanese pounds. He also announced the setting up of a higher education fund for the state and announced financial support for the fund with the sum of 25 million pounds in appreciation for the good record achieved by the state in the last academic year.

His excellency also said that all the agricultural projects in the state would be rehabilitated to achieve self-sufficiency in wheat as well as a surplus for export. He said the cultivable areas would be expanded in the future and new agricultural lands would be allotted to all the deserving persons particularly in projects set up for food security in the state.

Lt. Gen. al-Bashir said in conclusion that the national commemoration of the martyrs next year will be held in the town of Kosti in White Nile State.

Al-Mahdi on Islamicization, Separatism

BR2911143194 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 27 Nov 94 p 7

[Report on interview with opposition leader Sadiq al-Mahdi by Katja Bexar in Khartoum; date not given: "Weak Oppostion in Sudan"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Khartoum—Sadiq al-Mahdi, the symbol of the Sudanese opposition, receives visitors in a cool pavilion in the garden adjoining his magnificent villa. He is not allowed to leave Khartoum, so he leads his people from home, and plays both tennis and polo twice a week to keep fit. Over the last 18 months he has been arrested five times.

"The government does not like my views. When what I do goes beyond certain limits they step in."

Twice Toppled

Sadiq al-Mahdi's name is often the first to be mentioned as an alternative to the military junta currently in power. He is the only opposition leader based in the country.

He has been around for a long time. In 1964 he was elected prime minister, then he was toppled in 1969, was back in the job in 1986, and was overthrown a second time by the current military regime in June 1989.

Hasan al-Turabi, who is the brains behind the recently introduced policy of Islamification, wrote criminal laws that include flogging, amputations, and stoning among the punishments, when he was justice minister in al-Mahdi's government. The two men worked closely together.

Foreign commentators believe that despite the war, despite international isolation, and despite the terrible state of the economy, the military junta has a firm grip on power. Some even think it could succeed in building up its model Islamic state and become the next major power in the region. The country is Africa's largest in terms of surface area and is full of unexploited resources. Al-Mahdi calls the results of the regime's five years of government tragic.

"Inflation is rampant, prices have increased by an average of between 3,000 and 4,000 percent, while incomes have only risen by between 300 and 800 percent. The difference shows how people are suffering today."

Peace Is Distant

"When they came to power there was a peace program. The agreement between the warring factions also contained a cease-fire and an aid program. The peace process was stopped and now peace is more distant than ever. Their dialogues in Addis Ababa, Nairobi, and Abuja have been dialogues of the deaf. They have put their efforts into the military side, as they promised, but now there is no military solution to the problems," al-Mahdi says.

"As for external relations, Sudan has been condemned by the world around it in an unprecedented manner, being the object of worse resolutions than South Africa and Israel.

Sadiq al-Mahdi represents the Umma Party which is one of the two largest and oldest Muslim parties in the country. In addition there are many apolitical—but strong—Sufi orders in the country and the number of Muslim groups has grown, not least with the Muslim brotherhood from which the National Islamic Front (NIF), the party in government, broke away. Al-Mahdi firmly maintains that the regime does not have the support of all these groups.

The Program Lacks Support

"The Islamification program does not have the support of the majority of Muslims in Sudan and does not guarantee the rights of non-Muslims. We have presented a program of our own in which we say that the state should be described as democratic, not religious, not secular. The same applies to the constitution. Respect must be shown for the human, civil, and religious rights of all Sudanese. After accepting these principles each religious group which has a majority can spread its own religion."

In 1986 he wanted to have a moderate Islamic state; he explains the sudden turnaround by the fact that they have now discussed the matter. He is convinced that the southern Sudanese who are demanding autonomy share his view.

Reaction Against Politics

"I believe that the call for self-determination is a reaction against the policies that have been pursued rather than a desire that has been thought through. If the southern Sudanese are given a fair chance they will prefer unity. A separation would entail many problems; it might prove possible to stop the war between the north and the south, but instead we would have endless wars between different ethnic groups. What is more, there are now more southern Sudanese in the north than in the south, and many of them hardly have any desire to go back."

Sadiq al-Mahdi says there is a genuine dialogue going on between people in the north and in the south, but he cannot be any more specific than that.

Things sound different in Cairo where the headquarters of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), an umbrella organization for various (and varying) opposition groups, is located. Faruq Abu Eissa directs its work from his position as general secretary of the Arab Lawyers' Association. He is a former minister who left Sudan in 1984.

"Under the NIF the war has spread and the elderly, women, and children became targets for the first time. Wholesale destruction is taking place. All agricultural work is at a standstill. Our people are fleeing and starving," al-Mahdi says.

"The NIF wants to cleanse the whole of the south and settle Muslims there in place of the population. It wants to cleanse the Nuba mountains and move in Arabs. They are making it a religious war. They say that they will Islamicize the whole of Africa. Iran is giving them money and whichever Iranian cultural center in Africa you visit you will find that it is being run by a Sudanese Islamicist.

Torture in Houses of Terror

Sadiq al-Mahdi described the represssion, the torture in houses of terror, the trade union confederation, political parties, and the like. Then, confident of victory he says that the military regime will fall—soon.

"The military regime has become weaker and weaker and is only maintaining its hold through the security services. Nobody is afraid any longer, as has been shown over the last two years in protests against price increases and demonstrations at the university. When the hour of truth comes and the NDA is able to organize these rebellions, it will take just a few weeks," the Sudanese opposition leader said.

"The problem is that we are weak. We need help. We need a radio station. However, we will succeed. The people in Sudan have experience, having toppled two previous military regimes, in 1964 and 1985. It is merely a question of time."

As for the war in the south, the NDA has adopted a declaration of principles based on the peace negotiations under the leadership of four neighboring African states.

"Priority will be given to a united Sudan over a transitional period lasting several years. If we succeed in establishing a secular Sudan, then I believe this unity can prevail. If we fail, it will mean the division of Sudan," al-Mahdi said.

Hard To Split Up The Country

And yet splitting up Sudan is no easy task. For instance the idea is unacceptable to Egypt which is very closely monitoring everything that has to do with the flow of the Nile. And Abu Eissa's vision of an imminent popular uprising is not particularly widespread. Critics of the regime in Khartoum estimate that the opposition based abroad is working to try and isolate Sudan internationally, but do not anticipate much in the way of action.

"To be sure we have experience in toppling regimes, but this time things are different," one of them said. The regime has support among the people, is not totally isolated, and believes that it is ruling with a mandate from God. With that faith it is prepared to kill.

Rebel 'Defectors' Surrender to Armed Forces

EA3011170494 Omdurman Republic of Sudan Radio Network in Arabic 0430 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] About 250 rebels surrendered to the People's Armed Forces in (Turuji) area, south of Kaduqli in Kordofan state yesterday.

Reports reaching us indicate that defectors from the rebel ranks began returning following the government's recent submissions on achieving peace from within, being sponsored by the Supreme Council for Peace. The returnees are coming in a time when the government is striving to establish peace villages and camps in many areas. Moreover, some rebel leaders have returned to the homeland over the past few days after realizing that the rebel movement was telling lies, opposing the will of the citizens of the south, and that the government was determined to achieve a comprehensive and permanent peace in the country.

Saudi Arabia

Authorities Secretly Dismiss Imam of Medina Mosque

NC3011191894 Cairo AL-'ARABI in Arabic 28 Nov 94 pp 1, 15

[Report by Sabri al-Dib in Riyadh]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In a move shrouded in complete secrecy, the Saudi authorities have removed Shaykh Ibrahim al-Alkhdar as the imam of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina and prevented him from entering the mosque.

Sources at the mosque said that the imam was dismissed because of his constant criticism of the behavior of the ruling family. Other sources said he was expelled because of personal rivalries and complaints to King Fahd about Shaykh al-Akhdar's widespread business activities in bakeries, poultry farms, gas stations, and various food concerns.

Sources close to Saudi Information Minister 'Ali al-Sha'ir say Shaykh al-Akhdar sought the minister's intervention with the king to reinstate him.

In an exclusive statement to AL-'ARABI, Saudi Interior Ministry sources who wished to remain anonymous said that for the time being the Saudi authorities do not intend to release Safar al-Hawali or Dr. Salman al-'Awdah, who were arrested along with some members of the Salafiyah movement after a wave of anger swept Saudi Arabia over an announcement in September that there was an inclination to lift the ban on dealing with Zionist companies.

The number of followers of Safar al-Hawali and Salman al-'Awdah who are in Saudi prisons is not accurately known. The Saudi Interior Ministry's statements are conflicting in this regard. It is likely that the number of detainees is over 2,000. [passage omitted]

Yemen

Al-Ahmar on Reform Grouping Ties, 'Accountability'

JN3011183894 London AL-WASAT in Arabic 28 Nov 94 p 15

[FBIS Translated Text] Paris—Yemeni House of Representatives Speaker Shaykh 'Abdallah Husayn al-Ahmar has stressed that the existing relations between the General People's Congress [GPC] and the Yemeni Reform Grouping are organized by the document of coalition and alliance signed by the two parties. He said the Reform Grouping respects this document, which "will survive for as long as both organizations respect it."

Regarding criticisms made by some GPC leaders against the grouping concerning violations in appointments to public office, al-Ahmar said that his party does not believe in dividing shares in this field and that appointments to public office should be given to qualified people regardless of their party affiliations.

The head of the Yemeni Reform Grouping reiterated his party's position on the GPC, which says that the coalition, which was established during the civil war and strengthened after the war, must be preserved under the framework of the current government, headed by Dr. 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abd-al-Ghani.

Al-Ahmar said the government is accountable for its statement before the Yemeni House of Representatives and if the government does not abide by that statement, then the house will vote it out of office. He said this "happens in all parliaments in the world." He said the government's accountability is not only limited to issues of corruption, stressing that the government's program is an integrated whole and its accountability will also be an integrated whole.

Answering a question to the effect that certain information has indicated that al-Ahmar left Yemen in protest against the government's policy, the Yemeni House of Representatives speaker said this information is groundless. He said: I stayed in Yemen for three consecutive years to monitor Yemeni affairs until I reached the point where I felt confident about the internal situation, so I decided to go abroad to undergo medical checkups which I should have had a long time ago. In the past, I did not pay much attention to my health for the sake of Yemen and when the domestic situation improved, I decided to do this tour, which I started in Turkey and then France and Germany.

Al-Ahmar also said he believes peace in the Middle East is better than war, but he though that "what happened in Gaza recently provides a very big service to world Zionism."

Government Official Urges Kurds To Back Saddam

JN2911184594 Baghdad AL-'IRAQ in Arabic 17 Nov 94 pp 1, 6

[Column by Nuri Najm al-Marsumi, first under secretary of the Ministry of Culture and Information: "Our Kurdish People and the Tasks of the Historic Crossing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It has become clear that Iraq has been and is still exposed to the most hideous plot faced by any people in modern history. After the Iraqi leadership has knocked down all U.S. excuses for continuing the economic embargo, one after the other, the U.S. Administration and its representatives have lost their ability to convince anyone in the international arena about the continuation of the embargo, since there are no longer any real justifications for it. But there remained one issue which continues to preoccupy the U.S. Administration and American companies; namely, the effect of lifting the economic embargo on the oil market and its prices, as well as on the ability of the Saudi and Kuwaiti regimes to pay their "dues."

By insisting on the continuation of the economic embargo, Washington is violating the rights of the Iraqi people, the principles of international law, and all values of human dealings throughout history, whether on the level of individuals, tribes, or nations. In order to clarify what we say and believe in, Washington is committing aggression on Iraq daily by starving its people, exposing them to severe crises and distress, and preventing them from dealing with other states in order to ensure their minimum food and medicine requirements. Thus, Iraq is compelled today to wage a battle in order to defend the destiny of its people and to prevent the plotters from achieving their mean designs to humiliate Iraqis, violate their sovereignty, and undermine their territorial integrity.

This is the historic battle of the crossing which is led by the leader Saddam Husayn with his known courage. It is a battle in which the Iraqi people stand on one side, backed by all the forces of freedom and peace in the world which want to defend Iraqi freedom, national options, and legitimate aspirations for a bright future; while the United States leads the opposing side with all the imperialist forces determined to re-colonize Iraq, plunder its wealth, abort its awakening, and prevent it from playing a leading role within its Arab environment.

The cards have been laid out, the stands have been revealed, and everything has become clear. Since the battle of the crossing is a national battle by its nature, objectives, and the conflicting regional and international forces involved, Iraqi political forces and social classes of all inclinations have mobilized their resources wherever they are in order to stand strongly behind the leadership in this historic battle.

Here comes the role of our Kurdish people in this phase. The United States and Britain have resurrected the old "colonial files" and resorted to the "old British colonial methods" in sowing discord between the sons of the one people by sparking internal sedition, bribing the weakhearted, and hiring mercenaries in order to carry out their divisive plans and weaken the domestic front on whose unity and cohesion the leadership depends while it is waging its national battles. When Iraq succeeded in foiling the chapter of treachery and treason, and, consequently, the northern enclave of agents collapsed and the infiltrators fled from the south, the Iraqis, especially our Kurdish people, looked forward to a new era of fraternity and love among the sons of the one people and their political forces through a serious dialogue, leading to a political and an organizational formula that would ensure the development of the autonomy experiment in the Kurdistan Region and everyone's participation in the reconstruction of great Iraq.

But the U.S. Administration prevented the fulfillment of the agreed formula by its direct intervention. Not only that, the leaders of the Kurdish parties were also ordered to follow a completely different course; or to be more precise, they were ordered to rebel against the authority of the state, create problems for state services and labor organs, and bring foreign troops into the region. The Iraqi leadership was aware that the U.S.-British plan was aimed at provoking large-scale fighting between the national armed forces and the anarchists, leading to the loss of many innocent lives. So, the leadership foiled this plan by withdrawing state organs from some areas of the Autonomous Region and deciding not to deal with the situation in the traditional way, since it realized that the aim of the plan went beyond the Autonomous Region to include the whole of Iraq. The imperialists wanted to replay the chapter of treachery and treason in a different way in order to exhaust Iraq's capabilities and throw its future into the unknown.

The Iraqi leadership decided to avoid bloodshed even when it could have imposed state authority on everyone, especially those who lived on the crumbs of the financial support which the U.S. and British intelligence agencies offered to finance their hostile activities against their own homeland. The leadership wanted to give them the chance to try their luck with the protection of U.S. Marines and the promises of the intelligence agencies to their leaders. It was also a chance for the sons of the Kurdish people to discover through tangible and live experience how true and real were the slogans and programs which some individuals in the northern part of the homeland had raised and boasted about. Three years later, the sons of our Kurdish people were able to tell what was right and wrong. Our people in the Autonomous Region lived through dark days and bitter experiences due to the lack of the most fundamental bases of security and life in the region and the armed gangs' violation of all values, turning the towns and villages into scenes for their armed conflicts. No one's life or future was safe. Job opportunities dwindled to their lowest level. As for democracy, which some used as a facade, it turned into a dictatorship for the rule of armed gangs.

As they went through these difficulties and sufferings, our Kurdish people saw two clear pictures: On the one hand, there was the picture of bitter experience, disruption of life, and domination by armed gangs; and on the other, the picture of life, stability, and autonomy gains under great Iraq, but above all the kind and special care of the leader of the people Saddam Husayn for the sons of Kurdistan. Every honest Kurd knows in figures how much the state had spent on the construction of the Kurdistan region and the qualitative change it had brought to Kurdish life as a result of this construction.

The plan that was carried out by U.S. and British intelligence agencies in the northern part of the homeland was aimed at breaking up Iraq into North, South, and Center and maintaining the anomalous situation as a pressure card on the Iraqi leadership while it resisted the economic embargo and faced the continuous threat of military aggression.

But this plan was foiled thanks to the Iraqi people's patience, persistence, and pursuance of the great aims of the historic Mother of Battles. Iraq remained united and solid against all foreign plots and plans. The plan itself was foiled in the northern part of the homeland. The region which was intended to be "secure" was no longer so as admitted by U.S. and British officials themselves. The region also lacked the most fundamental bases of security and life, as we said.

Today, our Iraqi people are waging a decisive national battle against the imperialist forces and their old and new methods. While all the Iraqi people are pooling their efforts, capabilities, and resources, but above all their brains, for this battle, our Kurdish people, as they have always accustomed us, must also assume their leading role in this battle.

The Kurds in this beloved homeland had participated in the Iraqi people's struggles against imperialism through their parties, organizations, and trade unions. During the glorious Saddam's al-Qadisiyah, Kurds played an important and vital role. They backed the Iraqi Armed Forces and prevented the Iranian enemy from penetrating Iraqi territory, whether by defending the northeastern border or actually taking part in operations in the center and the south.

Iraq's modern history records with pride and honor the Kurdish people's unity, patriotic role, and cooperation with their Arab brothers in the battles of national and pan-Arab struggle. Despite foreign intrigue and direct interference in the Kurdistan Region for almost 33 years, any follower of events knows that the Kurdish issue, with all its details and complexities, represents a model for the unity of the Iraqi people. The Iraqis have never faced any racial or sectarian problems as Europe and the United States witness today and as foreign forces wish would happen in our homeland. The Arabs and Kurds live together under the tent of great Iraq. Despite the anomalous situation in the Autonomous Region due to foreign interference, contacts have not stopped between the sons of the one homeland.

Honorable Kurds in the Autonomous Region are called upon today to ponder what has happened carefully. First, they should ponder and assess the secret of Iraq's steadfastness and success in preserving its unity and ability to not only reconstruct what the evil forces have destroyed in the military aggression and the chapter of treachery and treason, but to also implement major irrigation and construction projects under the conditions of the embargo. They should also ponder the secret of the changes which have taken place in the attitude of many world nations to Iraq's legitimate cause and the increasing world demand for lifting the embargo, and then draw the correct conclusions.

No doubt, everyone realizes that the national political and economic program for the decisive battle of the crossing covers the whole of Iraq. Iraq is heading toward not only the lifting of the economic embargo, but also consolidating the unity of its territory and ending the interferences of foreign circles in its internal affairs as well as proceeding on the course of construction and development.

Therefore, honorable Kurds in the Autonomous Region are called upon today to fulfill an historic national responsibility, which is to deprive the foreigner of the card he uses in international forums due to the anomalous situation in the Autonomous Region, play their role in ending the anomalous situation from which our Kurdish people are suffering and thus removing its negative effects on the whole of our beloved Iraq.

Ending foreign interference in Iraq's affairs is a central and vital aim; it is a basic condition for preserving Iraq's freedom, unity, and independence, and implementing its development projects. Closing the page of foreign interference in the northern part of the homeland is an urgent task. No doubt, the vanguard to undertake this task are primarily our Kurdish people themselves with the support of all the sons of great Iraq. We believe that three years of ruination, plunder, instability, violation of sanctities, and of dealing with the foreigner and his promises are enough. Patriots and nationalists in the Kurdistan Autonomous Region must realize before it is too late the truth behind the plan that foreign circles have drawn up for the region. They must struggle to end the anomalous situation and thus deprive the imperialists of the card bosom will remain open for the righteous ones. March ahead.

U.S. 'Montitoring,' Albright Response to Poem Seen

JN3011170994 Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 21 Nov 94 p 3

[Article by Dr. Muhammad al-Da'mi]

[FBIS Translated Text] The curious incident that took place recently, bringing U.S. Security Council Representative Mrs. Albright to our attention; namely, her high-strung emotional reaction and calculated statement that she was moved by the poem of the Iraqi poet who said she resembled a serpent has significant meanings that should not be allowed to pass without observation or comment.

No doubt, Mrs. Albright's main aim was to tell the Iraqi poet and other writers, who like all Iraqis are hurt by the embargo, that attacking her personally and saying she resembles a serpent is an attack on an individual. But this was exactly what the poet and other writers did not mean. The poet poured out his sentiments on the person of the U.S. representative only as a channel to convey the Iraqi protest against the unfair embargo. Thus it came as a poetic and emotional protest.

As for Albright's criticism that she is not representing herself at the Security Council but the policy of a major power, it is a criticism signalling indifference to the sentiments that are deeply felt by the Iraqi poet, who saw in Albright an American symbol, on whom he poured out all his anger, contempt, and protest against the U.S. systematic starvation of the Iraqi people without any mercy or pity.

For this reason, her criticism of the Iraqi poet is rejected, because she was in fact reacting to a delicate poetic sensitivity which voiced its protest against U.S. policy through this channel. We, men of letters and critics, know very well that poets often look for symbols through which to express their sentiments and feelings. Therefore, we do not consider the statement by Albright's spokesman a clever criticism of the Iraqi media and writers.

But this situation deserves attention of a different kind. The behavior of Mrs. Albright and the statement by her official spokesman are extremely meaningful to Iraqi writers. The matter is summed up by the fact that the West, especially the U.S. Administration, is watching us very closely and monitoring our writings, considering them a part of the general national Iraqi reaction. Despite the unfair cultural embargo which they have imposed on our press and writings and the gags which the Westerners have placed on our mouths and pens, the imperial administrations have left some channels open in order to watch and monitor us and to explore the mechanisms of our thinking. The imperial authorities of the unfair embargo have left some windows open in order to monitor the sensitive and reflective brains in Iraq.

I do not want to claim here that I have discovered something new which has not crossed anyone's mind. I am only trying to remind and alert. Dr. Edward Said, the thinker of Palestinian origin and American culture, says in his book "Orientalism" that the U.S. Congress had once called for a plan to obtain everything of importance that has been published in every major language of the Near East since 1900. The plan was considered vital to U.S. national security. Dr. Said contrasted this plan with Arab interest in the West by saying: We were alarmed to find out that while scores of organizations in the United States are studying the Islamic Arab East, there is not a single institution in the Near East studying the United States. This calls for serious and practical action on our part. Western writings, especially American articles that appear on the pages of magazines and newspapers reflect the view of the opposition and its dealing with us as we continue to face the American West with a solid will power the likes of which it has never before faced.

Albright's extremely emotional behavior expresses two facts: First, the possibility of drawing senior politicians in a country which considers itself and its diplomacy the epitome of rationalism and non-emotionalism into funny and curious situations. Second, the U.S. Administration and its specialized news agencies are listening, monitoring, and reading what we say and write with great interest, despite their claims, or hints, that they do not care about what is published against them in the Iraqi press and publications, which of course is not correct.

Henceforth, Iraqi writers and sharp-witted commentators must note that their writings are being monitored and their thoughts are being studied by the engineers of the military aggression and the planners of the policy of the inhuman embargo imposed on the men, children, and women of Iraq.

This is a major national responsibility that deserves clever attention and a responsible and concerned national response. Since the U.S. Administration and understand that we are not just local writers, but writers who are read worldwide.

'Large-Scale' Arrests Said in Baghdad, Other Cities

NC3011161194 (Clandestine) Voice of Iraqi People in Arabic 1500 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Iraqi ruling regime's security organs have raided the houses of a number of citizens in the poor areas near Baghdad and arrested dozens of people.

Travelers arriving in Jordan said that authorities in the regime recently launched a large-scale campaign of arrests that included a number of citizens in the cities of al-Thawrah and al-Shu'lah and took them to an unknown place. They added that the regime increased its armed night patrols in the poor areas, where constant attacks occur on the ruling regime's offices and men.

Armed Roadblocks, Passenger Checks Said To Increase

NC3011164194 (Clandestine) Voice of Iraqi People in Arabic 1500 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The ruling regime in Baghdad has increased the armed roadblocks on the main road between al-Basrah and al-'Amarah and has set up a number of checkpoints to determine the identities of travelers.

Travelers arriving in Baghdad this month said that the personnel manning the armed roadblocks interrogated travelers and that a number of passengers were detained and taken in private vehicles to an unknown destination. They added that the regime men's questions centered on the citizens' view of measures taken by the regime and developments in Iraq, in addition to questions about certain persons.

Three Anti-Saddam Officers Reportedly Poisoned

NC3011153194 (Clandestine) Voice of Iraqi Islamic Revolution in Arabic 1430 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The bodies of three Iraqi officers opposed to the regime have been found in northern Iraq. Reports from the north said that these officers were poisoned.

It is worth noting that a network of several officers and elements from Saddam Husayn's intelligence service in northern Iraq was recently discovered trying to [words indistinct] the opposition forces and neighboring countries with the aim of carrying out assassinations and sabotage. Quantities of cyanide and [word indistinct] were found on members of the network established by Saddam to liquidate his opponents.

Kurd Leader Urges Opposition To Prove 'Existence'

MM3011154094 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 30 Nov 94 p 6

[Report by Kamran Qurrah Daghi: "Deputy Speaker of Iraqi Kurdistan Parliament: Kurdish Problem Should Be Solved by Federation After Removal of Dictatorship"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpts] London—A prominent Kurdish leader has expressed his belief that the Kurds are "not allowed—regionally and internationally"—to mobilize forces toward Baghdad and the unliberated areas of Iraq.

Najad 'Aziz, deputy speaker of Iraqi Kurdistan's parliament, who visited London this month and met with British parliamentarians, urged the Iraqi opposition to "prove its existence and organize the Iraqi people's indignation against the regime."

He said that the "radical solution to the Kurdish problem is the removal of the dictatorial regime," and the alternative is "a democratic federal Iraqi republic."

Asked about the Kurdish role in the Iraqi opposition, 'Aziz said: "Without doubt the Kurds feel a kind of satisfaction when they see that a part of Kurdistan has been liberated from dictatorial rule— which is understood. But there is awareness that the radical and lasting solution under geopolitical considerations remains the removal of the dictatorial regime and the establishment of a democratic system in Iraq to guarantee the Kurds' rights and enable them to develop these rights within an Iraqi unity based on voluntary union. The formula we are thinking of is a democratic federal Iraqi republic. And to achieve that, before the March 1991 uprising the Kurdish movement entered into alliances with other Iraqi forces: national forces like the Ba'th Party [Iraqi Command], Islamic forces like the al-Da'wah Party and the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, democratic forces like the Communist Party, and others. It worked with these forces in the framework of the joint action committee." [passage omitted]

But the Kurdish official urged the opposition to "prove its existence and organize the people's indignation against the regime, which has no equal in the world." [passage omitted]

Replying to accusations that the Kurdish movement is not interested in changing the situation in Iraq, and that it is in fact "satisfied" with the status quo as long as the areas under its control are enjoying the protection of the Western coalition and there is an international humanitarian aid program for the Kurds, 'Aziz said: "One person wondered at a seminar why not a single bullet has been fired toward Baghdad. My answer is the following question: Is it acceptable—regionally and internationally—to mobilize Kurdish forces toward the unliberated parts of Iraq? My opinion is that in these conditions—and I am not saying in the near or distant future—the Kurds are not allowed to embark on such an action." [passage omitted]

'Aziz stressed that Iraqi Kurds are offering no support to the Kurdish People's Party [PKK], which is waging a war against the Turkish state. He said: "We do not stomach the methods that party is using in Turkey. And the Kurdish movement in Iraq has never used them. We believe that using these methods strengthens fanatic nationalist elements in Turkey and weakens Turkish society's forces which believe that the solution to the Kurdish question is not violence, but political dialogue." He stressed that the Kurdish administration in north Iraq considers what is happening in Turkey an internal affair. He said: "This is also our position as regards Iranian Kurds. They are free in their military activities against neighboring states."

SAIRI Calls For Help To Stop Repression

NC3011164594 (Clandestine) Voice of Iraqi People in Arabic 1500 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Higher Council of the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq [SAIRI] strongly denounced the barbaric campaigns of repression and the executions of a number of religious scholars and mosque preachers in al-Ramadi, Karkuk, and Mosul that were recently carried out by the ruling regime in Baghdad.

In a statement published today, the council urged the international human rights organizations to take a stance [words indistinct] the Baghdad regime, stop the security organs' repression of citizens, and release the detainees in the regime's prisons.

The SAIRI statement stressed that the continued campaign of arrests and the Iraqi people and the ruling regime. It stressed the need to unite the popular struggle to topple the regime.

Minister Meets Russian Writers Union Official

JN0112105494 Baghdad INA in English 0908 GMT 1 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baghdad, Dec. 1, INA—Minister of Culture and Information Hamid Yusuf Hammadi met on Wednesday [30 November] Secretary of the Russian Writers Union Sergy Ivang [name as received].

Prospects of cooperation between Iraq and Russia in different cultural fields were discussed during the meeting.

Airspace 'Violations' Protested to Arab League

NC2311143494 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1410 GMT 23 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Cairo, 23 Nov (MENA)—Iraq has accused the Western alliance planes of continuing to violate its airspace, noting that 594 sorties were conducted between 9 and 16 November.

Dr. Nabil Najm, Iraq's permanent delegate to the Arab League, sent a memorandum to that effect to Arab League Secretary General Dr. 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid today.

In the memorandum, Iraq notes that these violations threaten Iraq's security, sovereignty, and national unity.

Iraq asked the Arab League Secretariat to distribute the memorandum among member states.

U.S. Airspace 'Violations' Protested to UN

JN2811094494 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0850 GMT 28 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] New York, 28 Nov (INA)—Iraq has again protested to the United Nations over U.S. aircraft violations of its airspace for the purposes of provocation and surveillance.

In a memorandum addressed to the UN secretary general yesterday, Iraq's permanent representative to the United Nations said these aircraft violated Iraqi airspace during the period 11-20 November and carried out 728 sorties, in addition to several reconnaissance sorties.

The Iraqi permanent representative asked that the memorandum be circulated as a UN Security Council document.

Rabin Opposes Bypassing Interim PLO Arrangements

TA3011164494 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1500 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] The prime minister was asked about Deputy Foreign Minister Yosi Beilin's remarks that we should move to permanent arrangements and pass over the interim stage with the Palestinians. Rabin reacted sharply to Beilin's remarks.

[Begin Rabin recording] I want to make it clear that the government has one policy; it is expressed in the Foreign Ministry, not by the deputy foreign minister but by the foreign minister. The government intends to pursue an interim arrangement and in the way it sees fit, but I will not go into that at present. The foreign minister was in Brussels and met with 'Arafat. When he returns he will report, and we will decide then what we will do. We are pursuing an interim arrangement. [end recording]

Peres on Lifting of Syrian Arms Embargo

BR3011160894 Madrid EL MUNDO in Spanish 30 Nov 94 p 26

[Report by Marian Hens: "Peres: 'The Problem of Fundamentalist Terrorism Cannot Be Solved by Force of Arms'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Madrid—According to Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres, terrorism in the Middle East is tantamount to "fundamentalism," a "universal" problem that cannot be solved by force of arms. This is the view he expressed yesterday in Madrid, where he received the National Graphical Media Employees' Association's annual prize.

"Enemies are essentially national, but problems are universal. And I do not believe fundamentalism is a religion, but a problem or a form of protest."

Convinced that "fundamentalism's basis is poverty," Peres stressed that it was necessary to provide financial help for the Gaza strip in order to avoid the risk of Islamic terrorism "becoming a danger" with unforeseeable consequences.

Although he appeared to be optimistic about the peace process, the Israeli foreign minister stressed that negotiations must be conducted individually with the countries involved in the conflict, and he highlighted the difficulties of reaching an agreement with Damascus, because "the Syrians are employing tremendously slow negotiation techniques. We do not understand what they are waiting for."

"Negotiations must be approached from an open position from both sides, but they [the Syrians] are starting from an ultimatum and want to confine talks within the narrow framework of diplomacy. Negotiations with Syria are very difficult, not only because of the issues involved, but also because of the methodology used," he added.

Peres confirmed he was opposed to lifting the arms embargo on Syria because "we cannot be generous with a state that is maintaining an economic embargo on Israel. Syria must first lift its embargo on peace in the region."

According to the Israeli minister, the recently achieved peace with Jordan will lead to a development of relations at two levels: on the one hand, economic coexistence within a common framework "similar to the Scandinavian model," and, on the other, a political level at which both sides "will remain separate."

As regards the announced Palestinian elections in the West Bank, Peres pointed out some problems, such as the precise nature of the elections (that is, whether a parliament or a government ought to be elected) and, in particular, the need to redeploy troops to safeguard the election process "and this is dangerous in an area where Hamas is very active." What happens if the Palestinian fundamentalists win? "I do not believe they will win. In any case, we will not allow life and peace to be destroyed."

Baraq on Gaza, Jericho Security Arrangements

TA2811195294 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1900 GMT 28 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Chief of Staff Ehud Baraq said that the security arrangements implemented in Gaza and Jericho are the best possible under the conditions stemming from the agreement with the Palestinians but that they are not simple. The agreement was not meant to and cannot solve the complex problems on the roads leading to the Qatif Bloc settlements and to Netzarim or the security problems along those roads. Part of the responsibility for this issue lies with the Palestinian police, and the way the latter tackles the problem will be an important test for the continuation of the entire process, Baraq stated. However, even in areas where we are in charge there is no absolute security, as evidenced by yesterday's terrorist attack near Bet Hagay. What is most important is that Israeli society stick it out, since any sign of weakness on its part strengthens the enemy. The chief of staff was speaking at a Hanukkah candle lighting ceremony with immigrant soldiers at the Armored Corps monument in Latrun, as part of his farewell tour of IDF [Israel Defense Forces] units on the eve of his retirement.

Mubarak To Reciprocate Weizman Visit; Beilin on Ties

TA0112114094 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 1 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Batsheva Tsur, Dan Izenberg, and news agencies]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] President 'Ezer Weizman and his wife Re'uma will make a state visit to Egypt at the end of the month, it was officially announced yesterday.

Weizman accepted the invitation after it was agreed that Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, who has a longstanding invitation to Israel, would return the visit shortly afterward.

President Bureau Chief Arye Shumer left for Cairo last night to arrange the meetings with Egyptian leaders. During the presidential talks, the question of Israel's soldiers missing in action on Egyptian soil is expected to be raised.

Deputy Foreign Minister Yosi Beilin told the Knesset plenum yesterday that there has been no overall improvement in the Egyptian attitude towards Israel since the signing of the peace treaty, and there is a lack of "enthusiasm." Beilin said this was especially true in the cultural sphere, adding that Egyptian intellectuals, journalists and lawyers continued to boycott Israel.

Beilin said that according to the Egyptian government, an Egyptian book on Middle East development which did not include Israel had been published privately by AL-AHRAM. But Beilin described the official government response, which claimed that the book was a private venture, as "an excuse" which "was true in this specific case." [passage omitted]

[A report by political correspondent Shlomo Raz carried by Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew at 0500 GMT on 1 December adds: "The Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem has ordered the Israeli Embassy in Cairo to investigate reports that the Egyptian economy minister instructed his workers to slow down the normalization with Israel and that he himself refuses to visit Israel." Raz notes that "the affair was disclosed in AL-HAYAH, a London-based newspaper believed to have excellent sources in the Arab world," and that "the Foreign Ministry will soon hold a discussion on the relations between Israel and Egypt."]

Female Soldier Dies; Rabin Blames Hamas 'Terrorist'

TA3011163694 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1500 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The IDF [Israel Defense Forces] spokesman announced that 19-year-old Sergeant Li'at Gabay of 'Afula was the person fatally wounded by a terrorist at the 'Afula central bus station today. She died of her wounds in hospital. There will be another announcement on the details of her funeral.

The prime minister said the terrorist was a member of Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement]. He had been in detention between 1988 and 1991 and does not have a permit to enter Israel, Yitzhaq Rabin said.

[Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English at 1600 GMT on 30 November adds: "The terrorist was identified as 25-year-old Wahib Abu-Ra'uf from the West Bank village of Qabatiyah, who was caught by a passersby. He told police he entered 'Afula with the ax in a plastic bag for the specific purpose of attacking soldiers."

[Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew at 1500 GMT on 30 November says "the Likud has called for an immediate halt to the agreement with the PLO. Moledet says that these attacks will continue until a permanent and total closure is imposed on the territories. Speaking at Ben-Gurion Airport, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin said that the terrorist had come from an area under Israeli control. The prime minister also noted the huge quantities of weapons that are smuggled through the army checkpoints."]

Peres Rules Out Dialogue With Hamas

LD3011155894 Madrid RNE-1 Radio Network in Spanish 1300 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] One of the protagonists of the Middle East peace process is now in Madrid: Shim'on Peres, the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize winner together with Israeli Prime Minister Rabin and Palestinian leader Yasir 'Arafat, who, moreover, received the Prince of Asturias Prize for International Cooperation a few days ago. Peres is a key figure in the Arab-Israeli reconciliation and in Madrid has analyzed the big changes, the hopes, the difficulties, and the threats facing this region in conflict, which still produces victims on a daily basis as the legacy of decades of hate, as was shown by the attack carried out today in the town of 'Afula, with an Israeli soldier seriously wounded by an axe wielded by a Palestinian radical. Our colleague Maria Jose Castejon now reports on the analysis made by a protagonist of history.

[Castejon] Shim'on Peres once again laid emphasis on fundamentalism as the main threat to peace in the Middle East. In his opinion it is not a religious phenomenon, but rather an expression of the protest deriving from social discontent. The way to fight it, therefore, cannot be only one of arms, but economic growth and education. According to Peres, Israel is committed to supporting the struggle of the new Palestinian authority against fundamentalism. However, the Israeli foreign minister ruled out any possibility of a dialogue with the radicals of the Hamas [Islamic Resistance] group, even in what he regards as the unlikely event of their winning the elections in the autonomous territories:

[Begin Peres recording, in English with superimposed Spanish translation] I do not see why Hamas should be interested in winning the elections. Why should they want to win elections? They want to destroy peace, they want to destroy Israel. Why do they need to have a majority? What they need is arms. Unless they change who can have a dialogue with them? They shoot, they don't talk. [end recording]

[Castejon] The Israeli foreign minister called for investment in the Middle East precisely at a time when in Brussels the donor countries are studying how to unblock the aid promised for the Palestinian autonomous areas. Shim'on Peres repeated that the future of Jerusalem is not a politically negotiable subject for Israel, although religious coexistence is possible and desirable:

[Begin Peres recording, in English with superimposed Spanish translation] I think that Jerusalem is politically closed and religiously open. We are not going to divide Jerusalem, we are not going to turn Jerusalem into a new Berlin with a wall inside the city, it's nonsense. Jerusalem was never an Arab capital and the Jewish people have not had any capital but Jerusalem. [end recording]

Court Sentences 'Terrorist' to 9 Life Terms

TA3011164194 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1500 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The military court in Nabulus today sentenced Fatah terrorist Jamal al-Badr to nine life terms in prison. Al-Badr participated in the murder of nine Palestinians suspected of collaborating with Israel in the Tulkarm area.

Our correspondent Dani Zaqen reports that in his interrogation al-Badr said he had been recruited and instructed to carry out the kidnappings and murders by the headquarters of Jibril al-Rujub, the head of the preventive security service in Jericho, after the establishment of the autonomy.

Analysts Said To See Need for Concessions for Peace

TA0112100594 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 1 Dec 94 pp A1, A2

[Report by political correspondent Aluf Ben]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Senior analysts will tell the cabinet in its upcoming session on Sunday [4 November] that if Israel or the Palestinian side does not make "a very significant concession," it will be very hard to attain an interim arrangement.

In internal deliberations held in recent days, the analysts said "they cannot see elections being held in the territories, the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] pulling out of population centers in the West Bank, and all the settlements being left in place at one and the same time."

The same analysts said a few months ago that upon the IDF's pullout from Gaza and Jericho, terrorism would increase significantly in the West Bank and within the Green Line. They assessed that the escalation in terrorism would leave Israel with three alternatives: making a far-reaching concession to the Palestinians, freezing the political process, or demanding to skip the interim phase and immediately proceed to discuss the permanent arrangement.

In internal deliberations this week, the same analysts noted that their "warning had proved true, and the internal debate in Israel today reflects the three alternatives presented at the time to the senior political level."

In its upcoming session, the cabinet will hold a comprehensive debate in anticipation of the negotiations with the Palestinians scheduled to resume in Cairo next Monday. Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin announced that the cabinet will hear the assessments of all the security and intelligence elements and asked the ministers to present their positions concerning the interim arrangement. Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres will be abroad and will not attend the cabinet session. [passage omitted]

No-Confidence Motion on Party Inclusion Defeated

TA2811161294 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1500 GMT 28 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Knesset has defeated a no-confidence motion presented by the National Religious Party and Tzomet over the plan to incorporate YI'UD [Independent and Democratic Israel] in the government. Our correspondent Hayim Hecht reports that immediately afterwards the Knesset approved the first reading of the law designed to enable the inclusion of YI'UD in the government. Fifty-one Knesset members voted in favor of the law, and 42 opposed it. Coalition members promised to try to have the second and third readings of the law passed within the next few days.

Delegation Leaves for Tel Aviv To Open Embassy

JN0112144094 Amman Radio Jordan Network in Arabic 1200 GMT 1 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] An official delegation from the Foreign Ministry left for Tel Aviv this morning on a two day-working visit. The delegation is headed by 'Umar al-Rifa'i, director of the Special Bureau at the Foreign Ministry.

The delegation will make preparations to open the headquarters of the Jordanian Embassy in Tel Aviv on 10 December and to celebrate the hoisting of the Jordanian flag over the embassy building on 11 December in implementation of the Jordanian-Israeli Peace Treaty.

Security Talks With Israel Conclude in al-'Aqabah

JN3011201094 Amman PETRA-JNA in Arabic 1535 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Al-'Aqabah, 30 Nov (PETRA)—The second round of Jordanian-Israeli talks on security and borders, which lasted for two days, concluded in al-'Aqabah today.

Major General Tahsin Shurdum, chairman of the Jordanian Security and Borders Committee, said at the conclusion of the meetings that the delineation of the Jordanian-Israeli borders will start as of 6 December. He added: Three field teams from the Royal Geographic Center and three Israeli teams have been formed for that purpose. The teams will start the delineation process, which is expected to last three weeks, using "ordinary L-shaped steel poles" as marks, noting that the main delineation process will take longer.

In a statement to the Jordanian News Agency, Shurdum added that the Jordanian Armed Forces has set up a committee to discuss the security issues as stipulated in the Jordanian-Israeli Peace Treaty and charged it with implementing the measures related to pure military issues. He noted that there are measures related to borders and the Israeli troops withdrawal to the international borders which will be delineated later.

He said today's meetings concerned borders, and are related to delineation, security, and the al-Ghamar and al-Baqurah areas in the north. He noted that there is an appendix to the peace treaty which includes special instructions on the Israelis' use of land in these two areas, which fall under Jordanian sovereignty. He also said that the Higher Supervision Committee, chaired by Dr. Hani al-Mulqi, approved the creation of specialized sub-committees comprising representatives from the Armed Forces and the Ministries of Interior, Agriculture, and Waters to implement the Jordanian laws, each in its field. He said these committees met today and discussed all issues stipulated in the treaty's appendix so that both sides will be clear about them. He stressed that the measures related to these two areas will be implemented before the end of December.

Asked by the Jordanian News Agency about the number and type of forces on the border between Jordan and Israel and the removal of mine fields and barbed wires, Maj. Gen. Shurdum said: The Jordanian Armed Forces have clear and known responsibilities defined by the Jordanian military command. The removal of the barbed wires and mine fields between the two parties is one of the principal subjects which is being discussed at this stage and it requires further discussion in future sessions.

Israeli Transport Minister Discusses Airport Plan

TA0112113194 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1100 GMT 1 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Transportation Minister Yisra'el Qeysar met this morning with his Jordanian counterpart in al-'Aqabah. The Jordanian minister asked Israel to approve the building of an additional landing strip for the al-'Aqabah airport on Israeli territory, and Minister Qeysar agreed in principle.

Direct Amman-Kuwait Flights To Resume in 1995

JN0112093594 Amman Jordan Television Network in English 2000 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kuwait has agreed to a Jordanian request to resume direct flights between Kuwait City and Amman after a four-year break caused by the Gulf crisis.

Deputy Director General of the Civil Aviation Authority 'Abd-al-Qadir al-Dalqamuni said the Kuwaiti agreement marks another step forward in Jordan's efforts to heal the rift with the Gulf states and comes ahead of the reopening of the kingdom's diplomatic mission in the emirate.

Al-Dalqamuni said Royal Jordanian planned to resume the flights to Kuwait by mid 1995. [Amman AL-ASWAQ in Arabic on 1 December reports that Jordanian flights to Kuwait are expected to resume as early as January 1995].

Crown Prince Briefs Cabinet on European Tour

JN3011200594 Amman Jordan Television Network in Arabic 1800 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] After his return home today, His Highness Crown Prince Hasan, the regent, chaired a cabinet meeting attended by his majesty the king's advisers. His highness briefed the cabinet on his European tour, which resulted in more effective Jordanian-European ties in the era of peace.

Crown Prince Hasan Views Mideast Peace Process

AU3011092494 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 30 Nov 94 pp 4-5

[Report by Claus Pandi: "Reason and Peace Will Win Through in the Middle East"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Despite all the difficulties and the explosive situation in the Middle East, Jordanian Crown Prince Hasan Bin-Talal showed optimism in an interview with NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG editor Claus Pandi.

Regarding a recipe against fundamentalism, he said: "It is clear that there have to be prerequisites for peace. The Palestinians need full economic support. If stable institutions and structures are added, it will be easier to hold talks with these critics. I believe that in 1995 peace and reason will win through in the Middle East."

Regarding 'Arafat's function, he said: "We feel his symbolic power for the Palestinians. Of course, the future of the Palestinian people is not necessarily connected with persons—no matter how important they are. It is of utmost importance that in the next year the plans for the continuation of the peace process will be implemented."

Regarding negotiations with Syria, he said: "These contacts have already begun. Certainly it works very slowly, but U.S. President Clinton's visit to Damascus a few weeks ago shows that international mediation is already taking place here."

A Dialogue is Always Possible

Regarding the radical Hamas group, he said: "I believe that the experiences in this region have proven that a dialogue is always possible."

Regarding the future of the Middle East: "At any rate, the decision for peace cannot be reversed."

Urges European Contribution to Peace

JN0112124194 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 1-2 Dec 94 p 1

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Amman (J.T.)—His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hasan on Wednesday [30 November] expressed hope that Jordan would reach an agreement with the European Union (EU) in the coming few weeks on partnership in fulfilling the requirements of peace in the Middle East.

The two sides will hold a dialogue that would reassert Jordanian-European cooperation in the era of peace, Prince Hasan said in a statement upon his return to Amman from a European tour.

He said Jordanian-European cooperation under the mid-1970s protocol did not cover matters related to the requirements of the peace era which has just started.

Referring to Jordan's efforts to help the Palestinian people, the Crown Prince said the Kingdom had actively and successfully participated in a conference by donor nations which promised aid to the Palestinian people.

He congratulated the Palestine National Authority (PNA) in the self-rule area of Palestine for securing European aid.

The donors met in Brussels where the Belgian foreign minister said that Europeans believed that the situation in Gaza and the West Bank needed an urgent European response.

Referring to the planned European summit in Essen on Dec. 8, the Crown Prince said Jordan hopes that it would result in more than mere expressions of "sympathy" or "concern" over the situation in the occupied Arab territories or the situation in Bosnia.

"We hope that the European summit would result in a more comprehensive declaration than previous ones, ushering in a serious and practical initiative on the part of Europe in settling these issues," he said.

"Since the Venice Declaration of 1980, the Europeans did not take the desired initiatives to settle regional issues but now this initiative is much desired and wanted," Prince Hassan added.

Referring to the peace treaty between Jordan and Israel, the Crown Prince said that it was a regional affair with the United States playing a key role. "But I would like to say that this regional affair requires understanding and support on the part of the European nations. There can be no more excuse for Europe not to contribute towards peace under the pretext that the United States was assuming that role," said the Crown Prince, adding that Europe was close to the region in all aspects and had a basic role in bridging the gap represented in the Mediterranean Sea separating Europe from the Arab World.

Prince Hasan said that Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' was present at the Brussels meeting and this presence helped to improve Syrian-European relations and led to the lifting of a European arms sales ban on Damascus.

"We welcome this development and hope that further participation on the part of Syria and Lebanon would take place in further conferences and meetings in order to better explain the Arab and regional issues to the European nations," Prince Hasan said.

The last stop in Prince Hasan's tour was Vienna, where he delivered an address to the Europe of Religions International Conference organized by the Institute for Human Sciences.

The Crown Prince told the meeting that there was real optimism for peace in the Middle East for the first time in decades.

Upon his return to Amman, the Crown Prince, who was accompanied by Her Royal Highness Princess Sarvath, was met by His Royal Highness Prince Muhammad and other Royal family members and government ministers and senior officials.

The Crown Prince was sworn in as Regent soon after his arrival in Amman.

Shortly after his return, the Crown Prince chaired a Cabinet meeting and briefed the ministers on the outcome of his European tour.

U.S. Aid Request Detailed; Officials Comment

JN0112114694 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 1-2 Dec 94 pp 1, 12

["Special to the JORDAN TIMES" by Ghadir Tahir]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Amman—Jordan is seeking about $25 billion in American aid over the next 10 years to modernise its armed forces and to offset the cost of restructuring its debt-ridden economy as a means to sustain and develop peace with Israel. But, according to Jordanian and other sources, it is too early to tell how far the U.S. and other industrial countries will go in meeting the Kingdom's requirements for the era of peace.

Almost half of the sought-for $2.5 billion annual aid would be used to modernise Jordan's cash-strapped Armed Forces and security apparatus so it can protect the Kingdom's 980 kilometres of borders and carry out its "regional responsibilities."

According to official sources, the Kingdom has calculated its economic requirements based on plans to improve the living standards of its people, nearly 30 per cent of whom live under the poverty line, including a large number of Palestinians still living in 11 refugees camps in the country (U.N. figures estimate that about 250,000 Palestinians still live in those camps).

The Jordanian request was also based on the need to offset losses to the treasury from the expected trade liberalisation and economic reform as well as financing regional projects and meeting the commitments of servicing a $6.8 billion foreign debt.

His Majesty King Husayn, the supreme commander of the Armed Forces, is depending on the United States to supply Jordan with a major portion of its military needs to support the Kingdom's decision to make peace with Israel, officials said.

In late September, the Monarch asked U.S. President Bill Clinton in a letter for $2.5 billion a year in grants over the next 10 years to help revamp the army, with special emphasis on border security, and to revitalise the economy.

The letter was followed by detailed requests for three to four squadrons of F-16 fighters (a squadron has 18 to 24 planes), around 200 M1A2 main battle tanks, around 500 Bradley armoured fighting vehicles and a large amount of support equipment and ammunition.

"We will work with Jordan to meet your legitimate defence requirements and to give you the security you deserve," President Clinton told a joint session of the Jordanian Parliament on Oct. 26, the day of the signing of the Jordan-Israel peace accord. He did not offer specifics except for a $75 million grant to encourage overseas investment in the Kingdom.

During the president's one-day visit to the Kingdom, Jordan requested immediate infusion of money, U.S. assistance to help get debt write-offs or reduction from other countries and a complete security package, according to a senior official.

Washington is writing off $702 million of official debts to the United States. The write off, spread over three years, started with $220 million for 1994.

Jordan owes the U.S. nearly $300 million more in debts that are not eligible for write-off under American parametres.

Washington has urged its allies to offer debt relief to Jordan. The U.S. has met with "some success," but the bulk is still pending because different donor countries have different laws concerning debt forgiveness, informed sources said.

"Jordan alone cannot shoulder the bill of peace," Information Minister Jawad al-'Anani told the Jordan Times in an interview. "They (the international community) should know that the bill is very heavy."

"We expect more than what President Clinton indicated in his speech (to parliament)," said Dr. al-'Anani referring to the president's pledge of the $75 million grant. "We are entitled to a commitment of aid like the one given to Egypt and Israel after they signed the Camp David accords of 1979; we are entitled to ask for this assistance not only from the United States but from other donors including the European Community and Japan," he added.

Although diplomatic sources in Amman would not confirm that their countries had received a "specific list" from Jordan as to its economic and military needs, one diplomat said: "We have a general sense of what Jordan's primary concerns are."

According to the authoritative Washington-based Defence News Weekly, U.S. government officials have begun putting together an aid package to make good on President Clinton's promise to assist Jordan's military.

Options have been drafted in the Department of Defence that would provide for a long-term military aid package ranging from $250 million to $2.5 billion, according to American officials quoted by Defence News. The package is expected to be submitted to the U.S. Congress early next year.

The administration is reviewing several options, including requesting a special supplemental bill for the 1995 budget to cover up to $1 billion in military aid for Jordan or waiting until 1996 to incorporate the Jordanian programme into the 1996 foreign aid budget, said the Defence News report.

Jordan, which has the longest border with Israel, has been working since the Gulf war on a major plan to turn its 98,000-man armed forces into a modern, well-trained and well-equipped force.

"We need a military that is well-trained and well-equipped to ensure security and defend our borders from any external threats," said a senior official. "We cannot let our guard down just because we made peace with Israel."

Besides barring infiltrations by extremists opposed to the peace accord, the military also has to be prepared for possible unrest and threats in and from the West Bank, Syria, Iraq and Israel itself.

"Jordan's main priority now is to defend its borders," Field Marshal (Ret.) Fathi Abu-Talib, the army's former chief of staff, told the Jordan Times in an interview.

"There has to be a reorganisation of the Jordanian armed forces as soon as possible," said Field Marshal Abu-Talib, who retired two years ago after serving 43 years in the army.

This reorganisation includes reducing the number of personnel needed in some support units and quickly working to transform one of the army's two armoured divisions into a light infantry unit capable of moving quickly and, effectively to deter aggression.

The military, which has been on a tight budget for the last six years, has not made major weapon purchases since the mid-1980s. Two major deals for fighter jets, British tornadoes and French Mirage 2000s, have had to be cancelled due to limited resources.

Washington, which punished Jordan for its stand in the Gulf war by halting economic and military aid, resumed military assistance, including joint exercises and training programmes last year. The United States has also released to Jordan support equipment, including fatigues and transport vehicles.

Although the country's economic and security needs are great, both Jordanian and American officials have indicated that it may be difficult for the Kingdom to get such a package with the constraints on the U.S. economy and especially with the new Republican-led Congress, some of whose leaders may not be too keen to finance the Middle East peace process.

"We may be able to get a smaller number of the requested F-16 fighter planes but we may be overly optimistic if we think we can get the whole package," said the senior official. But Jordan, he said, still expects to get a great deal of weaponry and support equipment from excess defence equipment from U.S. arsenals.

Contacts Held With Egypt Over Dead Workers

JN0112092894 Amman AKHBAR AL-USBU' in Arabic 1 Dec 94 p 1

[FBIS Translated Text] AKHBAR AL-USBU' has learned that the Jordanian Government is holding intensive contacts with the Egyptian Government in an attempt to contain a crisis in bilateral relations created by some Egyptian newspapers which claimed that a number of Egyptians residing in Jordan were killed and their bodies were mutilated.

Official Jordanian sources said that these reports are untrue and that what happened to a number of Egyptian brothers working in Jordan occasionally happens to Jordanians themselves as a result of personal disputes. The Jordanian Government has nothing whatsoever to do with these disputes, they added.

The sources asserted that outside parties are deliberately attempting to amplify this issue in order to harm Jordan in this particular phase in which Jordan is trying to improve its relations with all Arab brothers and circumvent the results of the Gulf war after Jordan has achieved great success in this regard.

AKHBAR AL-USBU' has also learned that the Egyptian Foreign Ministry is carefully studying the reports which it receives on this issue, that it will notify the Jordanian Foreign Ministry of the results of its investigations in this regard, and that it is concerned about establishing distinguished relations with Jordan.

Foreign Ministry sources pointed out that with the existence of approximately 200,000 Egyptian workers in Jordan, it is natural that some are hurt as a result of disputes with their colleagues.

Minister Clarifies 'Inaccurate' Press Remarks

JN2811110994 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 28 Nov 94 p 1

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Amman (J.T.)—Minister of State for Prime Ministry Affairs and Information Jawad al-'Anani said Sunday [27 November] statements attributed to him by some local and Arab newspapers were inaccurate. The remarks, he said, which he made at a meeting with the press on Saturday, fall within the context of analysing the various scenarios of the situation in the Middle East in light of the peace process and its impact on Jordan and its relations with other Arab countries.

An Arabic daily newspaper on Saturday quoted Dr. al-'Anani as saying that Jordan's early signing of a peace treaty with Israel preempted a greater regional role for Syria over Jordan, Lebanon and the West Bank and Gaza.

In a statement to the Jordan News Agency, Petra, Dr. al-'Anani said Sunday his dialogue with newspaper reporters was aimed at briefing them on the various alternatives irrespective of their source or credibility.

Dr. al-'Anani said Jordan believes in a comprehensive solution to the Middle East problems, adding that it has always sought to bolster ties with all Arab countries.

Dr. al-'Anani attributed the strain in relations with the Palestinian leadership to a "lack of confidence on the part of one of them."

Stressing Jordan's clear and principled policy, Dr. al-'Anani told Petra that Jordan respects the will and sovereignty of all Arab countries and insists on the total Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and the exercise by the Arab parties concerned of their total sovereignty on these territories.

Dr. al-'Anani said Jordan's policy was based on inter-Arab cooperation and coordination, mutual respect and non-interference in others' internal affairs.

He said Jordan was keen on avoiding any direct or indirect criticism or slander of any Arab country.

Dr. al-'Anani said the Jordanian press enjoys freedom of expression within the rules in force, noting that some of newspaper analysis or commentaries have sometimes been the subject of protest or criticism. However, he added, the official media is fully committed to respecting positions of the various Arab countries and to supporting their rights.

Dr. al-'Anani was reported to have said that he could not assess the degree of security forces' response against opposition to the peace treaty, whether that response was exaggerated or the basis on which it was carried out. One leading columnist, Sultan al-Hattab, writing in AL-RA'Y daily, expressed astonishment at Dr. al-'Anani's statement. Mr. al-Hattab said that although he was close to the government he was "too far from what al-'Anani had to say."

Syrian Information Minister Muhammad Salman meanwhile denied his country was holding secret peace talks with Israel.

Reports of secret Israeli-Syrian contacts were "orchestrated by Israel to cast doubt on Syria's position," said Mr. Salman, quoted by the AL-DUSTUR daily.

Dr. al-'Anani said Saturday there were reports "which say that Syrian delegations are negotiating with Israel" in secret.

But the Syrian minister insisted: "There are no secret negotiations between Syria and Israel, and all contacts are carried out solely through the intermediary of the United States. Mr. Salman added that Israel "has still not accepted the principle of a just and comprehensive peace.

"The ideas that U.S. Secretary of State Warren christopher will transmit during his next visit to Damascus will depend on the Israeli reaction to Syria peace demands," he said.

Mr. Christopher is to begin a new shuttle mission to the Middle East in December.

Meanwhile a Syrian official in Damascus asserted the agreements Israel had struck with the Palestinians and Jordan had only served to advance the interests of the Jewish state.

"Certain Arab parties have only achieved the interests and objectives of Israel by concluding separate deals," 'Abdallah al- Ahmar, the assistant secretary general of Syria's ruling Ba'th Party said.

Editor Arrested for Publishing 'False Information'

JN3011084994 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 29 Nov 94 p 3

["Special to JORDAN TIMES" by Amy Henderson]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Amman—Jordanian newspaper editor 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abushi was arrested and charged with libel Sunday [27 November] evening as a result of accusations made earlier this year that he allegedly published false information in AL-RASIF, a local tabloid, about a local doctor.

In the article, Muhammad Tummalayh (a journalist for al-Rasif) wrote that surgery on a prolapsed disk performed by Ishaq Maraqah in July 1993 resulted in the paralysis of the patient, Ibrahim al-'Attar.

Under Jordanian law, the editor-in-chief of any paper assumes all responsibility for the content of the publication, which was why Mr. 'Abushi was arrested. But Fu'ad Saudi, Mr. 'Abushi's attorney, expects that charges also will be brought against Mr. Tummalayh. The defendant has entered a plea of not guilty.

According to Mr. Saudi, Dr. Maraqah and his attorney agreed that the editor should be released until the matter is investigated further and a court date is determined—Mr. 'Abushi was released yesterday on JD 500 bail raised by family members.

In an interview with the Jordan Times, Dr. Maraqah said the article was absolutely not true, calling the whole incident a "professional insult." The only truth in the article, Dr. Maraqah said, was that a surgery had been performed on the patient mentioned in the article.

Dr. Maraqah, a practising surgeon at al-Shumaysani Hospital and head of the Jordanian Medical Association (JMA), said that the surgery was not performed by him, but a colleague of his. However, Dr. Maraqah stressed, "The patient was never paralysed."

The surgery did encounter a routine complication, he added, "There was infection at the site which is normal in a surgery, but there were no unusual complications." To his knowledge, the doctor said, the patient is now enjoying good health.

Mr. 'Abushi's lawyer said Mr. Tummalayh obtained the information from the patient, but also added that Dr. Maraqah's lawyer said that the patient, Ibrahim al-'Attar, has denied any knowledge about the matter and has said that he at no time made such allegations against the doctor.

Dr. Maraqah said he had never been contacted by Mr. Tummalayh to confirm or deny such allegations.

The claimant is seeking JD 1 million in restitution, according to Mr. Saudi.

Press Law 'Makes a Mockery' of Democracy

JN3011090294 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 30 Nov 94 p 6

[Editorial: "Journalists or Criminals: What is the Law?"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The arrest and criminal charging earlier this week of 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Abushi, the editor of the local tabloid al-Rasif, over the publication of "false information," and later his release on bail, brings to light once again one of the main ignominious features of the current law on press and publications. What had set the criminal proceedings in motion against al-Rasif weekly was the publication of an unsubstantiated report that a certain doctor had performed surgery on a patient, which resulted in his paralysis. The issue here is not solely whether the surgeon in question had been libelled and his professional reputation sullied. Had this been the sole concern, there would have been other legal avenues available for the complainant to pursue in a court of law. What is most disturbing in this and similar cases is the existing law or practice that permits criminal prosecutions in situations where civil complaints would or should do the job.

Since Jordan is now aspiring to become a full-fledged member of the democratic club, it is high time that we applied the minimum, requirements needed to join, especially in matters that concern freedom of the press. There is no democratic country on earth, that we know of, which allows criminal prosecution of editors or reporters of publications for allegedly reporting incorrect news items. Criminal proceedings are confined to when there is a prima facie case for criminal intent, as it is known that democratic countries seldom resort to this avenue unless it is absolutely necessary. In the case at bar, the norm is to have the aggrieved party challenge the veracity of the report in a civil proceeding and ask for compensation from the responsible newspaper commensurate with the damage that ensued after proving the falsehood of the report. This is the "civilised" manner of dealing with such a problem.

We cannot, as a democratic state, go around arresting chief editors of publications or their reporters for publishing allegedly false information, especially when we are doing so on a mere suspicion and without the benefit of proving the accusation in an appropriate court of law. If our laws are at fault for this clearly undemocratic practice then we have to take into serious consideration their amendment, and as soon as possible. Otherwise we would simply make a mockery of our democratic hopes.

Mubarak Arrives, Holds Talks With al-Asad

JN0112115394 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1115 GMT 1 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Egyptian President Muhammad Husni Mubarak arrived in Damascus at 1030 today.

President Hafiz al-Asad headed those who received him at Damascus International Airport. He was also received by Vice President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, Prime Minister Mahmud al-Zu'bi, the ministers, the Egyptian ambassador in Damascus, and the Embassy staff.

Following the reception ceremony, the president and his great guest left for the Tishrin Palace where they held a closed meeting at 1115.

President Mubarak is accompanied by an official delegation comprising Sulayman Mutawalli, minister of transport and communications, Mahir Abazah, minister of electricity and energy, Safwat al-Sharif, minister of information, 'Amr Musa, minister of foreign affairs, Zakariya 'Azmi, chief of the Presidential Office, and Dr. Usamah al-Baz, director of the President's Office for Political Affairs.

Al-Shar' on Lifting of European Weapons Ban

JN3011195694 Damascus Syrian Arab Television Network in Arabic 1830 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar and his delegation returned to Damascus from Brussels this evening after participating in the first meeting of the Syrian-European Cooperation Council.

He was seen off at Brussels Airport by the Arab ambassadors accredited to Belgium. The Arab ambassadors expressed their satisfaction with the important and positive results of the Syrian-European Cooperation Council meeting, and highly praised Syria's pan-Arab policy in expressing the basic interests of the Arabs.

The minister explained to the ambassadors that one of the natural results of lifting the ban on weapons to Syria is opening the door without any obstacles to establishing active political relations and cooperation between Syria and the European Union in the economic, technological, cultural, and scientific fields. This will help support the development plans and the Syrian economy, especially since the ban on weapons used to curb the transfer of the advanced European technology for peaceful and scientific research to Syria and used to prevent cooperation in scientific research fields.

Bosnian Official Calls For Help To End 'Genocide'

NC0112094594 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0810 GMT 1 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Damascus, 1 Dec (MENA)—Irfan Ljubijankic, foreign minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has praised Egypt's active role in backing the cause of his country since the beginning of the Serbian aggression against it. He noted that his country's relations with Egypt are solid.

In an interview with a MENA correspondent in Damascus, the Bosnian foreign minister said that Egypt is playing a major and active role and is a member of the committee on Bosnia within the Islamic Conference Organization [ICO]. He noted that the Bosnian people highly appreciate the role and the positive contribution of the Egyptian Armed Forces operating under the UN force in Sarajevo, adding that they feel the need for these forces.

Ljubijankic, who is currently on a visit to Syria, called on the Islamic nations and the international community to actively intervene to ease the sufferings of the Muslim Bosnian people and face the genocide to which they are being subjected. He added that during his stay in Damascus he had held consultations with ICO Secretary General Hamid al-Ghabid and the education ministers of Tunisia, Morocco, Syria, Senegal, and Kuwait to urge Arab and Islamic governments to provide more diplomatic and political support and work within the United Nations to protect the safe haven and respect the UN resolutions on this matter. He stressed that his country needs more aid. He added: We are in the heart of Europe and most of the problems we face are because we belong to the Islamic religion. He said: We will not oppose Europe because we are part of it. If we want to stay in Europe we have to cooperate with it. Therefore, we must cooperate with Europe in a special way. He pointed out that all conditions are available for Bosnia to become a partner to Europe, adding that his country has highly qualified people, modern factories, and advanced technology.

Regarding the political consultations he is holding during his current tour, the Bosnian foreign minister noted that after Damascus he will visit Brussels for talks with European Union officials, particularly the NATO foreign ministers, and attend the meetings of the international Contact Group. He added that he will sign an agreement with the International Court of Justice in the Hague concerning war criminals in Bosnia and then will attend the CSCE meeting in Budapest on Monday.

The Bosnian official urged the Islamic world to establish diplomatic ties with his country and open embassies in Sarajevo, like the United States, Britain, France, Iran, Austria, and Germany have done.

An agreement establishing diplomatic ties between Syria and Bosnia-Herzegovina is expected to be announced later today.

Ties With Europe, Israeli Attitude Viewed

JN2811210794 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 0545 GMT 28 Nov 94

[From the press review]

[FBIS Translated Text] In an editorial, the newspaper TISHRIN discusses the meeting of the European-Syrian Cooperation Council which will be held in Brussels today with the participation of the EC and Syrian foreign ministers.

The paper notes that Israel has long experience in undermining European-Syrian relations. In this regard, the paper points out that Syria has always demanded an effective European role and paved the way for Europe to assume a special responsibility in the Middle East peace process. Meanwhile, Israel used to oppose any European role, and even excluded Europe completely from the Madrid peace conference. The statements made by Israeli officials, including Shamir and Rabin, were clear and frank in rejecting any EC role in the peace process.

TISHRIN explains that Syria has always called for an effective European role in light of the old historic relations and cultural ties. Syria cannot belittle such a role or undermine its relations with Europe due to Europe's weight and positions in support of Arab rights.

TISHRIN adds: Now that the smoke clouds created by Israel have vanished, the Europeans know well that Syria is not only interested in establishing a durable and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, but that Syria is the basis for such peace. Syria has made great efforts to save the peace process from the Israeli conspiracy.

The paper continues: The Europeans are well aware that without Syria's participation in the peace process, peace in the Middle East will only be a project.

Concluding its editorial, TISHRIN says Syria is always characterized by honest positions, good intentions, and real eagerness to render the peace process a success and remove the Middle East from the whirlpool of wars.

Commentary on 'New Chapter' in Ties With Europe

JN3011154894 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1230 GMT 30 Nov 94

[Station commentary]

[FBIS Translated Text] Gentlemen: There is no doubt that a new, important, and distinguished chapter has been opened in the wake of the Brussels meeting of the Syrian-European Cooperation Council. A new chapter has been opened in terms of relations between Syria and the European Union [EU] and in terms of reinforcing, strengthening, and developing these relations to the level of partnership so that the EU can play an effective role in regional affairs and developments, particularly with regard to the peace process.

Hence this opportunity was described as historic to highlight the great importance of the future relations between Syria and the EU and to promote relations between the EU and Syria to the level of a prosperous partnership.

There is no doubt here that the EU's keenness to reinforce ties of constructive and positive cooperation with Syria reiterates Syria's credibility and the soundness of its course and stands. This was underscored by the EU through its appreciation and support for Syria's commitment to peace, as well as through its great concern for giving momentum to the peace process on the Syrian and Lebanese tracks.

The EU Council has praised Syria's efforts to achieve peace, affirming that Syria plays a basic and vital role in the region and that no durable peace can be achieved without the presence of Syria in the talks.

The independent European decisionmaking and Europe's effective contribution to the peace process will strengthen the available opportunities to really and earnestly implement Security Council Resolutions 242, 338, and 425, as well as the principle of trading land for peace. These are the bases of the peace process which was launched more than three years ago at the Madrid conference. Syria was very concerned, from the beginning of the peace process, to see Europe playing an effective role in light of its relations and interests in the region at the geographical, economic, and political levels. This will activate and expedite the political efforts to end the state of tension and wars.

However, Israel, which does not want to comply with the will of the international community and which adheres to its occupation of Arab territory, rejected the effective European role due to its political and economic impact.

In this context, and in light of Israel's insistence on maintaining its position toward Europe, German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, whose country is the current EU president, accuses Israel of trying to keep the union away from the Middle East peace process.

Syria is clear and serious in its foreign relations and in its desire to bolster cooperation with the EU. This Syrian policy is based on a host of facts affirming that Europe—its states, organizations, establishments, and personalities—should practice its international responsibilities toward the events, developments, and situation in the region and on an equal basis with the Arab countries. A failure by Europe to play this role will not be in the interest of Europe or the region.

Hence, The EU and Syria, in their press statement issued by their cooperation council, made it clear that Syria and the EU share the fundamental regional concerns and that they have joint interest in security and peace all over the Mediterranean. They also have joint interests in a just and comprehensive peace that is necessary to establish regional cooperation and economic development and to have continuous prosperous European-Syrian relations and to emphasize the importance of developing Syrian-European relations in all political, economic, commercial, technical, and cultural fields.

If there are meanings of this sound trend, the most important fact here is that Syria, which has clear positions and which is honest to its principles, will continue to be strong in its relations with the others because it is based on the values of right, justice, and positive and constructive dealing. Based on this, all admit that Syria's role cannot be ignored, and that this role is an important regional one in realizing the security, stability, and prosperity of the Middle East region and the Mediterranean basin.

Opening a new chapter of European-Syrian cooperation demonstrates the EU Council's desire to have real partnership and friendship with Syria because Syria plays a very important and key role in the Middle East.

Afghanistan

Commentary Predicts 'Failure' of Tehran Talks

LD3011174094 (Clandestine) Radio Message of Freedom in Pashto to Afghanistan 0730 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear listeners: The political commentator of Radio-TV Message of Freedom writes: In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate, our compatriots know that recently the Islamic Republic of Iran invited the Afghan leaders to hold a meeting in Tehran to resolve the problems of the country. According to reports so far, ustad Sayaf, a member of the coalition administration, and esteemed Mawlawi Khales have announced their abstention from participation in the meeting. It is believed that the abstention of Sayaf could principally be the stance of Borhanoddin's administration, which wants the failure of this meeting, too. The reason for this could be that the Borhanoddin administration could not directly turn down this proposal of the Islamic State of Iran. [words indistinct] and all parties think on this line for the solution of the problem; and only on the basis of such thinking can they remove the clouds of sorrows from the Afghan nation and so stop the rain of wounds and deaths, and also when all sides to the problem become convinced that war is not a solution, and the only way of to resolution is understanding and dialogue.

So far, many meetings and conferences for the restoration of peace convened through the efforts of the Islamic countries of Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan have failed for those reasons and have produced no result. [words indistinct] or when they were defeated in the military field and were close to retreat and fall, they chose the path of peace and talks only to rescue themselves from the inevitable defeat and fall, not as a path to resolve the problem. [words indistinct]

The second great factor for the failure of peace conferences, meetings, and even agreements is that the implementation of the agreements and resolutions has not been guaranteed by those who organized those meetings. If it had been, it has not been acted upon. For instance, Jalalabad and Islamabad agreements were reached at the initiative of Pakistan, Iran, and Saudi Arabia and under the supervision of their delegations. The reponsibility and duty of those countries was not only to bring together the Afghan leaders and to get them to achieve an agreement, but as neighboring countries, they should have stood by our nation against the aggressor. They should not have allowed those agreements to fail and to be violated. They should have continued all kinds of cooperation for their implementation. Had this been implemented, we believe, there would not have been any need for the Tehran meeting, and the Islamabad agreement would have put a full stop to the game of blood and fire in our nation.

Therefore, we can seriously say that so far as the causes of the fighting have not been eliminated in our country, and so far as these kinds of conferences have not been backed by a practical guarantee, it is not possible for peace to be restored soon. It is natural that the misery of the Afghan nation can never be only the misery of the Afghans. All Islamic countries, and especially our Muslim neighbors, Iran and Pakistan, will suffer more.

Delegation Appointed for Tehran 'Indirect Talks'

LD3011171194 Kabul Radio Afghanistan Network in Pashto 1530 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The delegation of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, led by esteemed Sayd Husayn Alemi Balkhi, acting chairman of the Central Council of the Wahdat-e Eslami, left Kabul yesterday for the Islamic Republic of Iran to take part in the indirect talks with the State opposition.

Quoting the spokesman of the Presidency's Press office, the BAKHTAR INFORMATION AGENCY reports that efforts at national and international levels have recently been made in order to restore peace and security in our country. The Islamic Republic of Iran has also taken steps with interest and has made an effort for this end. Finally an invitation, through the Islamic Conference Organization, was sent to the Islamic State of Afghanistan and to the State oppositions, for carrying out indirect talks in Tehran.

The report adds: In always opposing the fighting and supporting peace, security, and understanding, the Islamic State of Afghanistan has accepted the invitation extended by the Islamic Conference Organization and expressed its readiness to take part in the talks. A delegation has been appointed to carry out the indirect talks and was sent to Tehran.

Harakat-e Eslami Commander Released From Jail

LD3011203194 Kabul Radio Afghanistan Network in Pashto 1530 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed Mawlawi 'Abdol Halim Halimi, one of the outstanding commanders of the Harakat-e Eslami and commander of Gendarme and Police in Laghman Province, who was captured by the Golboddin militia as a result of a treacherous conspiracy, recently was released from jail owing to help given by the men of the Hezb-e Golboddin [as heard].

At a ceremony the mojahedin and officials in Laghman Province praised his courage and welcomed his release.

Esteemed 'Abdol Halim had been in jail in an unknown place since 3 January 1994.

India

Offer To Resume Dialogue With Pakistan Reported

BK3011164894 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1530 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] India has conveyed to Pakistan that it is willing to resume bilateral dialogue.

The foreign secretary, Mr. K. Srinivasan, talking to newsmen in New Delhi, said the offer was made by the human resource development minister, Mr. Arjun Singh, during his visit to Islamabad for the Commonwealth meet. Mr. Srinivasan said both sides should address a wide range of bilateral issues without getting bogged down by contentious matters. Mr. Srinivasan said he also drew attention to the offer made by the prime minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, to the Pakistan foreign secretary, Mr. Najmuddin Shaikh.

However, Mr. Shaikh was suggesting a third party mediation which was not in line with India's stand. Expressing disappointment over Pakistan declining India's offer, Mr. Srinivasan said he told Mr. Shaikh that Islamabad should give some thought to the meeting of the prime ministers of the two countries at the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit next April.

On Nepal, he said India looks forward to working closely with the new government considering the friendly and long ties between the two countries. Replying to a question, he said the Indian ambassador in Kathmandu has not taken a biased position and there is no justification for any group to seek his recall. He said the ambassador's mandate is to reach out to all shades of opinion and groups to generate friendship between the two countries.

The foreign secretary also said that New Delhi has conveyed its serious apprehensions to Russia over its reported move to sell SU-27 combat aircraft to Pakistan.

Pakistani Rejection of Offer Criticized

BK0112074394 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0245 GMT 1 Dec 94

[Commentary by Samuel Ved]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The human resource development minister, Mr. Arjun Singh, during his recent visit to Islamabad in connection with a Commonwealth meeting repeated to his Pakistani host that India is desirous of resuming bilateral talks with that country with an open mind. India, he said, is willing to go more than half way to begin the talks. The foreign secretary, Mr. K. Srinivasan, tried to persuade his Pakistani counterpart, Mr. Najmuddin Sheikh, to resume the dialogue which the two countries held in January this year. But the Pakistani foreign secretary virtually rejected the suggestion by repeating his country's new-found stand that the two should talk through a third country—something Pakistan knows very well that India will never accept.

During and before Mr. Srinivasan's visit to Islamabad, which partially coincided with that of Mr. Arjun Singh, Pakistani leaders repeatedly said that they would not hold talks with the visiting Indian minister and the foreign secretary. A Foreign Office spokesman said in Islamabad yesterday that conditions did not exist for successful talks with India. Such statements vis-a-vis India are apparently being made to make up for the loss of face suffered by Pakistan in the UN General Assembly last month and at the UN Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva in March.

Islamabad, despite its big talk, failed to receive enough support at these forums even from Muslim countries for tabling resolutions aimed at embarrassing India. The failure had serious implications for Ms. Benazir Bhutto's government at home. It strengthened the hands of her arch foe, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, who has been carrying on a campaign to rid the country of her rule.

The Jamaat-i-Islami which so far kept away from Mr. Sharif's campaign has now joined hands with him. It's chief, Qazi Hussain Ahmad, says that his party will side with anybody who wants to topple the present government. That is one compulsion for Ms. Bhutto not to speak to India. India cannot accept such ridiculous suggestions. Both countries have normal diplomatic relations, communication lines, and other contacts. Talk of mediation or proxy talks, therefore, makes no sense.

Pakistani leaders have already gone too far in their anti-India stance and in distorting their people's thinking process by giving fundamentalist twist to their foreign and domestic policies. Ms. Bhutto should know better than others that Pakistan with such hang-ups cannot compete in a free market race that has already started and which is going to make peace and neighborly cooperation a compulsion. The sooner the Pakistani leaders realize this the better for their people and the region.

Maoist Guerrillas Killed in Andhra Pradesh

BK3011165494 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1530 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In Andhra Pradesh, 10 Naxalites [Maoist guerrillas] belonging to the banned People's War Group were killed in five different encounters with the police in Karimnagar and Warangal districts today. According to the police, two of the killed Naxalites were involved in Saturday's land mine blast in which six Punjab police commandos were killed.

In another incident, two persons were killed in a bomb blast in Husoor village of Kannoor District this morning.

Iran

Support Shown for Khamene'i as New Grand Ayatollah

Mourners Call Khamene'i 'Marja'

LD3011124094 Tehran IRNA in English 1226 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tehran, Nov. 30, IRNA—Various cities of the Islamic Republic wear a look of sorrow and grief today as multitudes are pouring into the streets in memory of the Grand Ayatollah Mohammad 'Ali Araki. Cities are drapped in black and mosques and houses hoist black flags while offices and state organizations are closed and verses from the Holy Quran are broadcast everywhere.

Several leading Iranian religious and state figures and organizations released messages of condolences over the sad departure of Ayatollah Araki. Following the broadcast of the sad news of the ayatollah's departure, masses of people gathered in front of the Shahid Raja'i hospital.

The mourning crowd wearing black clothes carry placards praising the high personality of the Grand Ayatollah and condoling the sad departure of the ayatollah to the leader of the Islamic revolution Ayatollah 'Ali Khamene'i.

The mourners beating their chests chanted slogans such as, "today is the mourning day, Khamene'i who is our marja' [source] is bereaved today". They also called for ressaleh (the book or epistle containing Islamic practical rules) of the leader of the revolution.

U.S. Shiites Back Khamene'i Succession

LD3011142694 Tehran IRNA in English 1311 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tehran, Nov. 30, IRNA—Following the sad departure of the great marja' of world Shias, Grand Ayatollah Mohammad 'Ali Araki, the U.S.-based Shias faxed a message of condolence to leader of the Islamic revolution, Ayatollah 'Ali Khamene'i and stressed that they will follow the leader as the next marja' of Shias.

According to the message, a copy of which made available to the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY Wednesday, the Shias living in states of Los Angeles, California, New York and Detroit said "Grand Ayatollah Khamene'i possesses all qualifications required to serve as the marja' of the world Shia Muslims."

The leader enjoys all the required qualifications and knowledge "in accordance with the daily problems of the world Muslims and global conditions," noted the letter. They also stated that they would follow Ayatollah Khamene'i as a marja' in the absence of the late Grand Ayatollah Araki.

They also called for a collection of the leader's religious guidelines.

Rafsanjani Refers to 'Grand Ayatollah'

LD3011202194 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran in English 1530 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Islamic Republic of Iran's president, Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, has sent a message to the leader of the Islamic Revolution, the Grand Ayatollah Khamene'i, and has expressed condolence on the passing away of the Grand Ayatollah Araki to his excellency, theology schools, grand-ulema, the world Muslims, and the honorable family, specially the endeared children of late Ayatollah Araki. The message says:

To the struggling jurisprudent, and the wise leader of the Islamic revolution, may his blessings be continued, I express condolence on the departure of the divine scholar, the honorable supreme religious source of reference of the Shi'ite world, the Grand Ayatollah Araki, to Imam Mahdi, may God expedite his reappearance, Ayatollah Khamene'i, theology schools, the grand ulema, the world Muslims, the bereaved Shi'ites and the honorable family, specially the endeared children of the late Ayatollah Araki.

Certainly the lack of a pious and vigilant source of emulation, such as Ayatollah Araki, who spent his blessed life on glorifying Islam and Muslims, enjoying sincerity, piety and high-political insight and was always the real advocate and supporter of the sacred Islamic movement, the Iranian nation, the late leader and the founder of the Islamic Republic, the blessed leadership of your excellency and the sacred system the religious guardianship, is an irreparable loss for Islam and Muslims.

With God's favor and with the existence of the products of the sacred theology school of Qom and our late Imam [Khomeyni], undoubtedly the holy status of the supreme religious source of reference will not be weakened or halted.

I hope that under the leadership of the Grand Ayatollah Khamene'i and the guidelines of the ulema and religious sources of reference and efforts of all thinkers and students of theology schools, the Islamic community can always benefit from the pious, brave and insightful scholars such as the late Grand Ayatollah Araki.

May Allah grant you a long life to serve the Muslim umma.

—the Islamic Republic of Iran's President, 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

Jurisprudents Endorse Khamene'i as Marja'

LD3011151494 Tehran IRNA in English 1454 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tehran, Nov. 30, IRNA—Two senior Muslim jurisprudents of the Qom Theological School on Wednesday [30 November] declared that it is permissible for Muslims to follow Ayatollah Khamene'i, as a marja'-e taqlid [source of emulation], in their relgious matters.

The jurisprudential view was announced by Ayatollah Rasti Kashani and Ayatollah Seyyed Jafar Karimi, both members of the Society of Instructors at the Qom seminary in response to an inquiry of a number of disabled war veterans on the issue of marja'-e taqlid. The disabled war veterans asked about the future marja'-e taqlid after the demise of Grand Ayatollah Araki and whether they could follow Ayatollah Khamene'i in their religious matters.

Ayatollah Seyyed Jafar Karimi replied that it was permissible for Muslims to follow Ayatollah Khamene'i as their marja'-e taqlid, and that there is no problem in doing so.

Ayatollah Rasti Kashani replied "in matters relevant to the system of govenrment, one must absolutely follow vali-e-fagih (the supreme jurisprudent)." He said "in personal matters over which ulema have no difference one can follow any mojtahid (an expert on Islamic jurispurdence) but as regards controversial issues one should follow a superior person if there is one and if such a person does not exist Muslims have an option to choose one of the mojtahids among whom the leader of the Islamic revolution is superior."

Khamene'i Seen 'Most Meritorious'

LD3011210694 Tehran IRNA in English 1930 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tehran, Nov. 30, IRNA—Ayatollah Seyyed Jafar Karimi said here today that there is no problem in following (taqlid) in religious matters the leader of the Islamic revolution, Ayatollah Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, and he encourged theological students to do so.

He said that in his opinion the most meritorious person in this regard is Ayatollah Khamene'i.

Ayatollah Karimi offered his condolences to Ayatollah Khamene'i on the death of Grand Ayatollah Sheykh Mohammad 'Ali Araki.

In related news, Ayatollah Morteza Banifasl said in reply to the quesion of a group of ulema of the Qom theological school here today that Ayatollah Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i is qualified for becoming the ultimate religious source in Iran.

He said since more than 70 leading ulema in Iran, many of them just scholars at the highest level, on the departure of Imam Khomeyni declared Ayatollah Khamene'i as being qualified for issuing fatwa on 'ifta' on controversial or complex points of points of religion, therefore, to follow him would be permissible and would help bolster the system of the Islamic Republic.

Ayatollah Banifasl is member of the experts council, and teacher at Qom theological school.

Meanwhile, a number of Shi'ites in Germany, the Netherlands and Austria have requested for copies of the treatise of Ayatollah Khamene'i.

Head of Ahl-Ul-Bait Youth Assembly in Europe and Friday prayer leader of Berlin's Imam Reza Mosque, in a condolence message cabled to Ayatollah Khamene'i said a number of Shi'ites in Germany, the Netherlands and Austria have requested the assembly to provide them with the treatise on religious issues of the leader of the Islamic revolution.

Ahmad Khomeyni Calls For Marja' Candidates

LD3011151994 Tehran IRNA in English 1427 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tehran, Nov. 30, IRNA—Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed Ahmad Khomeyni, son of the late Imam Khomeyni, on Wednesday [30 November] cabled a message of condolences to the leader of the Islamic revolution, Ayatollah 'Ali Khamene'i on the sad demise of the Grand Ayatollah Araki.

In his message, Hojjat ol-Eslam Ahmad Khomeyni also condoled the instructors of theological schools and the noble family of the late grand ayatollah particularly his son Hojjat ol-Eslam Moslehi.

"Undoubtedly," read the message, "the loss of the grand ayatollah has left a great vacuum in the Muslim world which can be filled by nothing but the unity of Muslims and joint efforts of seminaries throughout the world."

It said that the grand ayatollah's great personality and his assistance and support for the Islamic revolution, the founder of the Islamic Republic, Imam Khomeyni and his successor Ayatollah 'Ali Khamene'i will be kept alive in the minds of the Iranian people for ever.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Khomeyni expressed hope that theological schools across the country especially the Qom Seminary would soon introduce one or several marja' taghlid (supreme religious authority whose rulings on religious matters are followed by people) who can help Islam and Muslims at the crucial juncture of history.

Meanwhile, Tehran's Zoroastrians association, the leader's Bureau Chief Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohammadi Golpayegani, Azerbaijan's Assyrian Bishop Tomas Miram, Tehran's Jewish Association, Health Minister 'Ali Reza Marandi, Head of Judiciary Ayatollah Mohammad Yazdi and the bereaved family of the grand ayatollah cabled separate messages of condolences to Ayatollah Khamene'i Wednesday.

In related news governor of Qom declared Thursday, December 2, as a holiday and a day of public mourning in the holy city.

In an interview with IRNA, Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohammad Sadeq Elahi, grandson of the late Grand Ayatollah Araki, said the grand ayatollah highly respected the revolution, the late Imam Khomeyni and Ayatollah Khamene'i. Elahi added that his grandfather had always supported Islam and the Islamic revolution.

Commentary Lauds Efforts of Qom Seminary

LD3011135994 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1115 GMT 30 Nov 94

[Unattributed commentary]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. With greetings and condolences on the death of the divine clergyman, his eminence Grand Ayatollah Mohammad 'Ali Araki, to the lord of the age [the hidden imam], may God hasten his noble advent, and his deputy, His Eminence Ayatollah 'Ali Khamene'i, I draw your attention to today's political commentaries:

Following the demise of the marja'-e taqlid [source of emulation] of the Shiites of the world, the great jurisconsult, his eminence Grand Ayatollah Araki, the eminent leader of the Islamic revolution, his eminence Ayatollah Khamene'i issued a message expressing his condolences. While praising that worthy servant of God and pious theologian, he [Khamene'i] stated: He never thought of worldly matters, status, and its luxuries; personal feelings never prevented him from recognizing and travelling the path of God, and he never strove toward the attainment of fame or popularity.

His eminence Grand Ayatollah Araki, God's mercy be upon him, was one of the prominent personalities of the auspicious Qom seminary. The Qom seminary of theology and Islamic teaching has been a cradle nurturing lofty religious scholars and theologians, who have not only played an important role in theological developments and the growth and propagation of Islamic teaching, but have also stood firm throughout historical events like solid fortresses before the conspiracies of the enemies of Islam.

The emergence of a vigilant marja' and official such as Imam Khomeyni, may his dust be sanctified, from the Qom seminary, was an important development in that ever-awake center of Islamic teaching. The value and elevated position of religious authorities throughout the history of Shiism has not been confined to a profound understanding of Islamic teachings. It is, rather, a behavior that combines theology and action, which elevates such lofty authorities as Grand Ayatollah Araki to their position and level of piety and devotion, and breathes spirituality and sacredness into the bodies of such free-thinking and learned human beings. This is what has driven the devotees of the jurisprudence of Shiism to gladly follow the path of their knowledgeable and trustworthy religious authorities and, by adhering to their theological guidance and wisdom, to transfer Islamic teachings from one generation to the next.

The profound grief and tragedy that has embraced the Shiite community as a result of the demise of the divine religious scholar his eminence Grand Ayatollah Araki is an indication of the importance and attention that the followers of the path of the household of the prophet, peace be upon him, attach to the marja'iyat [source of emulation].

The history of Shiism is a clear testimony to the claim that the issue of marja'iyat has always taken its natural and accepted course. When the late Grand Ayatollah Borujerdi departed from this world, although the Shah regime's propaganda tried to usurp the course of selecting the marja'iyat, nonetheless, an eminent jurisconsult and knowledgeable mojahed [Islamic combatant] emerged from the Qom seminary; something that brought about profound spiritual and physical changes in the world.

In reality, the marja'iyat is a strong institution in the world of Shiism, which has its own constant, responsible, and continuous movement. Today, fortunately, enlightened theological personalities are active in seminaries, especially the Qom seminary, who, as the spiritual wealth of the Islamic community, provide the guarantee that the expanding Islamic movement will continue to thrive. Also, just as the eminent leader [Khamene'i] stated in his message of condolence on the demise of the eminent marja' of the world of Shiism, the Qom seminary has always met the people's need for a fully qualified source of emulation.

International Reaction to Araki's Death Viewed

NC0112110294 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0445 GMT 1 Dec 94

[Commentary by the News Research and Commentary Group]

[FBIS Translated Text] The demise of the highly revered marja' [source of emulation] of the Shiite world, His Eminence Grand Ayatollah Araki, has plunged the Muslim people in Iran and the world into deep sorrow and grief. Following the announcement of the heartrending demise of the highly esteemed marja' of the world's Shiites, religious and political personalities representing the Lebanese Muslims attended mourning ceremonies held for the theological scholar and conveyed their sympathies to the Vali-ye Amr-e Muslimin [guardian of the Muslims' cause], the great leader, His Eminence Ayatollah Khamene'i.

Scholar Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams al-Din, members of the council and secretariat of Hizballah, participated in the mourning sessions. The Higher Islamic Shiite Council and the speaker of the Lebanese Parliament cabled condolence messages to the great leader His Eminence Ayatollah Khamene'i.

In Pakistan too, the Muslims expressed their sympathies over the great loss, the demise of his eminence, the Grand Ayatollah Araki, to the lord of the ages—may God expedite his noble advent—and his fitting deputy, His Eminence Ayatollah Khamene'i, and the Muslim Iranian nation. The leader of the Pakistani Shiites, Allama Syed Sajid Naqvi, announced three days of public mourning. The Imamiyah Students Association sent condolences to the great leader on the tormenting catastrophe of the loss of His Eminence Grand Ayatollah Araki.

The Shiites of New Delhi, India, held mourning ceremonies and expressed their commiserations over the celestial demise of his eminence, Araki. The congregational imam of the New Delhi Shiite Mosque, Hojjat ol-Eslam Syed 'Ali Taqvi, sent a message to the Muslim Iranian nation expressing condolences over the demise of His Eminence Ayatollah Araki, the marja' of the Islamic world, the leader of the jurisconsults and jurisprudential scholars, on behalf of the Indian Shiites.

The Union of Iranian Students' Associations in India expressed the deep and heartfelt sorrow of all the students in a message to the Muslim Iranian nation. The clerics, religious figures, and the Shiites in Istanbul have announced three days of public mourning in Turkey over the demise of Grand Ayatollah Araki. These groups have sent separate messages conveying their condolences on the demise of the marja' of the Shiite world to the lord of the ages—may God expedite his holy advent—and to His Eminence Ayatollah Khamene'i.

The Shiites in Istanbul held mourning ceremonies and symposia and paid homage to the exalted status of Shiite marja'iyat [state of being a source of emulation]. The news of the demise of His Eminence Grand Ayatollah Araki has been internationally reflected and the extensive coverage given to it indicates the deep bond between the pious and the world of Shiism, the lofty status of marja'iyat, and the continuation of this spiritual and ethical bond.

Islamic Iran is considered the center of knowledgeable and responsible marja'iyat—and not just on the domestic front. Those who are enamored of the Shiite ideology worldwide will defend the base and trenches of Shiism in unison with the Muslim Iranian nation; they will move alongside the scholars of religion and jurisprudence with vigilance.

*Montazeri on State's Road to Destruction

95LA0014G London KEYHAN in Persian 20 Oct 94 p 11

[FBIS Translated Text] In a 12-page statement, Ayatollah Hoseyn 'Ali Montazeri, the promised successor of Ayatollah Khomeyni, has strongly criticized actions taken by officials of the Islamic Republic, especially the regime's leadership and the Special Court of Clergy, which is based at the Qom seminary.

Beginning with a long introduction, Ayatollah Montazeri defends the Islamic revolution, which he says belongs to all classes of the society, and strongly condemns the monopoly of revolution and its fruits. In his introduction, he praises the sacrifices made by the people in order to gain freedom, independence, and an Islamic republic government. He calls it a betrayal of the Islamic nation of Iran to set aside the aspirations of the nation, which are backed by the revolution's martyrs and disabled in hundreds of thousands. In another part of this introduction, he writes: "Regretfully, the political, economic, and cultural damage inflicted upon the Islamic system in recent years because of mistakes and excesses by the selfish and incompetent individuals, together with calculated and effective plans to weaken the religious beliefs of the faithful, are too many to include in this letter."

In another part, he refers to various plots against the Revolution and people's beliefs and brings up, as an example, the current move to "damage the reputation and credibility of the Shiite clergy and to humiliate the sources of emulation in the society and the lowering of the status of the sources of Shiite jurisprudence and seminaries."

At the end of his introduction, he describes the purpose of writing this letter to the Iranian nation as the defense against what has been said about him in the country's radio and press. He writes: "When I completed my lecture on 31 Bahman 1371 [20 February 1993] a decision was made not to distribute the recorded tape of the lecture, which was an invitation for demonstration for the strengthening of the principle of revolution and defense of some believers in prison, as well as my own defense against humiliating and unjust slanders raised in the press and gatherings. This was to prevent alterations of my talk, but others altered and distributed the talk. They used vulgar language on Friday, 23 Bahman [12 February] in front of my house and did the same on 24 Bahman at Hoseynieh, where my lecture was disrupted. As a result, we were compelled to distribute the tape. On Saturday night, more than 1,000 armed troops equipped with demolition equipment attacked my office, Hoseynieh of martyrs, and archives of correspondence, telegrams, newspapers, and news bulletins of a number of years. They recorded telephone conversations in the area, even those by the neighbors and innocent people nearby, cut the phone lines, and caused fear and anxiety. They even confiscated documents and personal belongings of the guards at my house and possessions of my martyred son, Mohammad Montazeri, which belong to his two minor children. They have returned only a small amount of money, which they had taken, but have not returned any of the belongings and documents. This attack continued for five hours. When the news spread, a flood of telephone calls arrived from the dear nation condemning this savage act by the officials. From various channels, we have heard promises about return of belongings, but we will not pursue them. Personally, I based my reaction on silence and reliance on God because we were not faced with rationality and logic but with ignorance and noise-making. Reacting to them was not wise. But when I was faced with falsehood, slanders, and offensive language in the sermons given before and after Friday prayer, as well as in the main editorial of KEYAHAN HAWA'I of 28/1/72 [4/17/1993] and the main editorial in JUMHURI-YE ESLAMI and other periodicals, which were filled with lies and confessions..." After describing the attack on his house and looting of belongings, Ayatollah Montazeri writes:

"Consequently, I am compelled, as is the duty of every committed Muslim, to briefly raise certain issues in defense of truth, spirituality, and law. Because a full explanation cannot be included in a brief message, I only bring up in this letter the part concerning the Special Court of Clergy, which is the source of this confrontation and other confrontations with the Seminary's clergy, senior jurisprudents, and seminarians who have been framed. This I do with the hope that the authorities may reconsider their approach and cease from further weakening of the Shiite clergy."

Referring to some instances of mistreatment, oppression, cruelty, and offensive language against him on the part of leaders of the regime of absolute rule of Velayat-e Faqih, he begins by saying: "The main editorial of KEYHAN-E HAWA'I of 5/17/1993, spreads a lot of lies and slanders. It writes: "Entering Mr. Montazeri's quarters was by the official order of the Special Court and took place as a legal action." First, an official entry does not require so many troops, encirclement of the neighborhood, troubling the neighbors, cutting of phone lines, heavy demolition equipment such as bulldozers and loaders, and breaking locks and doors. Second, a true court normally does not confiscate personal property such as vacuum cleaners, tape recorders, wall clocks, machinery, ablution apparatus, shaving machines, Spring of Freedom coins, and other similar things. Third, officials of a true court normally present an official order to the owner of a house prior to entering that house. Also, they make an official list of confiscated property and ask the owner for his signature. In my case, these gentlemen suddenly and completely surrounded the neighborhood, forced people to stay in their houses, and banned everyone from leaving or entering the houses. They confiscated personal property, broke doors and locks to rooms and closets, and took away whatever they wished. KEYHAN-E HAWA'I's claim is absolute falsehood that, quoting an official of the Special Court, "the official order was presented to Ahmad Montazeri, but he behaved disrespectfully and used offensive language and did not cooperate with forces of the Special Court of Clergy, despite our efforts to inspect his office in the presence of staff, who confronted us with disrespect." The inhabitants of the house, including Ahmad, were forced to stay in the house. They did not even meet with Ahmad and at the time of attack, which was 2200, at night, and there was no staff in the office to confront these gentlemen, whether respectfully or disrespectfully. Fourth, as the head of the Assembly of Experts that wrote the Constitution, that fruit of blood of dear martyrs of the Revolution, which was approved by the departed Imam (may his soul be blessed), the great clergy, senior sources, and the dear Iranian nation from all strata, I feel duty-bound to bring up certain issues about the Special Court of Clergy, although this may prove to be a bitter pill for some to swallow. But truth is usually bitter in nature."

Unlawful Interference in All Affairs

"The Special Court, which has caused damage to Islam and to the reputation of many sources of emulation and the clergy, and which uses false pretext to unjustly interfere in all important affairs of the nation even the matter of Shiite leadership and sources of emulation, has no legal basis and its formation is against the Constitution for the following reasons:

The first reason is found in Article 61 of the Constitution: The judiciary power is carried out by the courts of the Ministry of jUstice, which are to be formed according to Islamic principles. Because the Special Court of Clergy is not a court of the Ministry of Justice and it is not under the control of the judicial branch and does not respect the judicial laws and regulations, it is not permitted to interfere in judicial matters, and its administrators are guilty in front of God and the honorable Iranian nation."

Continuing this section of his letter, Ayatollah Montazeri, referring to the Constitution of the Islamic Republic and to religious tenets, calls the formation of the Special Court of Clergy against the law and religion and strongly criticizes the leader of the regime and points out, based on the articles of Constitution and true religious tenets, that he does not have the right to establish and operate a separate court. Without a doubt, this action of the leader is against the Constitution. If it is intentional, it is a violation, and if it is due to ignorance and error, he must make amendments and compensate for the damages. Furthermore, Article 112 of the Constitution states about the leader: The leader or members of the leadership council are equal with other people in the eyes of the law. Just as the president has no right to establish an independent court separate from the judicial branch, the leader likewise does not have such a right. According to Article 111 of the Constitution, the Assembly of Experts on Leadership, which has supervisory powers over the leader, must investigate this action of the leader. Also, Article 110 of the Constitution spells out the 11 obligations and prerogatives of the leader. There is no mention of the Special Court of Clergy in any of those articles. Therefore, its formation is not legal. Also, laws that are not passed by the country's legislature have no legal or religious standing, and acting upon them is a violation.

In this part of his letter, Ayatollah Montazeri refers to verses of the Koran and to rulings of Muslim jurisprudents as the basis for his rejection of the leader's understanding and interpretation of the concept of Velayat-e Faqih. He calls such an interpretation a contradiction of religious principles and tenets. He explains that Vali-ye Faqih has prerogatives only within the framework of the Constitution and laws. Velayat-e Faqih does not mean that the leader is free to do whatever he wants without accountability. For example, he must not disregard the Constitution and religious and civil laws of the country. The absolute Velayat-e Faqih means government based on the best interests of the country within the framework of the Constitution and Islamic laws. The Prophet Mohammad did the same thing. He governed within the framework of God's laws. Continuing this part of his letter, Ayatollah Montazeri adds: Because the Assembly of Experts was elected by the people according to law, and because the people voted for the Constitution, the leader has only those prerogatives mandated in the same Constitution.

In another part of his 12-page letter, Ayatollah Sheikh Hoseyn-'Ali Montazeri refers to the history and motive behind the formation of the Special Court of Clergy during the early years after the revolution. He writes: In the early days after the revolution, revolutionary enthusiasts were interfering in the affairs of the revolution, including some clergy and turbaned individuals who were extremists and committed excesses that were detrimental to the principles and reputation of the clerics. To counter this, a court of the clergy was established to look into the ethical behavior of the clergy. But this court itself gradually committed excesses and acted contrary to the dignity of the clergy. Many innocent clerics were defamed. As a result, many personalities of the revolution and the regime and great clerics, including myself, who were against the excesses of that court, tried in a variety of ways to abolish it. Eventually it was abolished. Ayatollah Montazeri continues: "After a while, I heard that some of the associates of the Imam (may his soul be blessed) have suggested the reestablishment of the Special Court. I sent a telegram to his excellency and reminded him that we did not have a good experience with the Special Court, and that it causes more harm than good. Furthermore, it is against the Constitution. A better choice is to appoint a team of experienced scholars in the Qom Seminary to look into violations by seminarians and the clergy. After the Imam passed away, the Special Court continued to function with expanded duties and very large expenses. It has been utilized, and continues to be utilized, primarily for political purposes. It has repeatedly violated and continues to violate the reputation and dignity of the sources of emulation and respected clergy and their families, children, staff, and offices, and it has arrested many scholars." In another section of this part of his letter, Ayatollah Montazeri continues: I do not claim that the clergy are infallible, but these very Shiite scholars, jurisprudents, and sources of emulation historically have resisted dictators and have rescued the Shiite community and the country from internal despotism and imperialistic impositions at critical times. Weakening this great national force is the greatest wish of the global unbelief at the present time. He continues the discussion of this issue and writes: Considering that all judges from the judiciary branch are themselves clerics, why should the clergy not be tried in the regular courts like other Iranians? Is something wrong with those judges? When the leader himself should be equal with other people in the eyes of justice, obviously that should be the case with the clergy too. Obviously, the accused must not be summoned and tried in a disrespectful way. Especially prior to conviction, arrests and investigations must not be made public. At the end of this discussion, Ayatollah Montazeri refers to the large budget and expenses of the complex organization of the Special Court and calls it unnecessary in the face of present economic difficulties in the country. He mentions that one of the faults of the Special Court is that the accused have no rights to attorneys, verdicts cannot be appealed, and just witnesses are not allowed to testify. Reports of the investigation are without merit, and confessions are taken from the accused under unusual jail conditions. Such confessions are legally and religiously worthless. The Court fixes the outcome, and there is no room for complaint.

In another part of his letter, Ayatollah Montazeri strongly criticizes the jurisprudents on the Council of Guardians of the Constitution, who are charged with the protection of Islam and the Constitution from violation. He writes: It is unfortunate that despite the fact that the great clergy and jurisprudents of the Council of Guardians are obligated to protect the Constitution from violation, a constitution created at the price of the blood of dear martyrs, they have remained silent in the face of deviations from the Constitution, including this severe violation. This criticism and request is addressed to other great clergy, deputies of the Majles, and all legal experts and writers too.

Is defense of the rights of the people, the dignity of clergy, the Shiite sources of emulation, the seminary, and the oppressed people not our obligation?

Silence in the Face of Severe Violation

Is silence in the face of violations of law, injustice, destruction of rights, and deprivation of freedoms not a sin?

At the end of this part of his letter, Ayatollah Montazeri refers to Koranic verses and Islamic traditions handed down from the Prophet (peace of God be upon Him) and Imams (peace be upon them) and reminds the jurisprudent members of the Council of Guardians and the clerical members of the Assembly of Experts that silence in the face of oppression and injustice undermines the Islamic regime and leads to disappointment among people and prepares the way for the overthrow of the Islamic Republic. This silence and compromise is a betrayal of the objectives of the revolution, of Islam, and of the Iranian nation.

At this point, Ayatollah Montazeri attacks the regime's mass media and accuses it of fabricating and spreading falsehood and slanders and offending the Shiite source of emulation. He mentions: I emphatically assert that what has been said about my family by the two cited sources is absolute lies, especially what Mr. Hoseynian (the deputy to Reyshahri, head of the Special Court of Clergy) has said to the effect that "five truck-loads of fliers and hand-outs offensive to the Imam (peace be upon his soul) and some other documents and papers were discovered during the investigation." Any decent-minded individual will be sad to know that the course of the revolution and Shiite clergy has led to a point where such self-interested individuals dare to lay siege in a large area, freely cause panic and fear, and loot properties from the office and Hoseynieh of martyrs, as well as precious archived materials of 14 years and then justify their rude behavior by fabricating such obvious lies that no rational person can believe. Furthermore, you have published these lies in a publication that is sent to people abroad. It seems that you have no sense of what five truck-louds of material means. By publishing such obvious falsehoods that have been dictated to you, you prove to your readers that you have no independence. You publish whatever is dictated to you, and as a result you lose credibility regarding anything else reported in your publication. Unfortunately, other publications are plagued with the same calamity, even the publication from the Islamic Propagation Organization prints such falsehood and untruth. According to press laws, you are obligated to publish responses given by my son Ahmad Montazeri, but you have not done so. Mr. Hoseynian has threatened to close down the magazine PAYAM-E HAJER and other publications if they write anything about the events in Qom. Instead of rule of law, there is rule of violence.

At the end of his letter, Ayatollah Montazeri refers to existing injustice and lack of safety for people and absence of any authority and organization that could help oppressed people and restore justice. He writes: "Meanwhile, some of the authorities have expressed sorrow over what happened at my house and insisted that higher authorities were not aware of the situation. Now that they know, what positive action have they taken? The looted property has not been returned nor have the perpetrators of the crime been punished. Some of them have been even rewarded and sent to Mecca for pilgrimage. God willing, their pilgrimage will be accepted!

He continues by referring, as evidence, to the book *Tahrir Al-Wasilih* by Ayatollah Khomeyni (volume 2, page 492) to call the perpetrators of the crime of attack on his house as those who fight God and corrupt the earth. They attacked my house in the evening of 25 Bahman [14 February] by sieging the area, using armed forces consisting of 1,000 troops, and causing the neighbors to feel fear and terror. They broke the locks and doors and looted a lot of property. This brutal act is a perfect example of corruption on the earth.

I penned down a brief account of the episode in these pages so that if breezes of freedom waft again and the atmosphere of repression is lifted and the press is liberated from censorship, they may publish my account for Muslim brothers and sisters.

Qom. Hoseyn-'Ali Montazeri

*Majles News: Civil Servants Employment

95LA0022B Tehran SALAM in Persian 22 Sep 94 p 9

[FBIS Translated Text] The bill prohibiting the occupying of more than one position was passed by the Majles yesterday. According to this bill, based on Article 141 of the Constitution, each person may have only one position in the government. The first note states: "Teaching posts at universities and educational and research institutions are exempt from this rule." Note 2 states: "Positions other than teaching posts at universities and educational and research institutions are not considered teaching posts."

It was obvious from the beginning who would be against this bill. Yes! Mr. 'Amid Zanjani and Sayfian, Tehran deputies, who are the chairmen of the college of law and political science and the college of dramatic arts at Tehran university, respectively.

Mr. Sayfian opposed the bill and said that the notes in this bill are contradictory and note 2 is in contradiction of Article 141 of the Constitution. He stated that he is not against the bill in general but all notes in this bill are contrary to the Constitution. Also, Mr. 'Amid Zanjani said that this bill has a constitutional problem. Addressing the sponsors of this bill, he stated: If one interprets Article 141 of the Constitution, you have created a bill against the same article. What kind of interpretation is this? You have violated part of Article 141 in this bill. He called a statement by one of the supporters of the bill as "false" and said: In Article 141, "educational posts" is plural, but in this bill you simply interpret it as "teaching posts." If this is what was meant in the Constitution, only the word "teaching" would have been used. Educational posts consist of 10 to 15 different functions, such as assessment of dissertations, certificates, and scientific qualifications of university faculty, as well as management of educational institutions. All of these posts are educational, but they are not teaching posts. He addressed the deputies and said: It is laughable! If you pass this bill, it means that correcting and grading exam papers are against the Constitution. He added: You have said the right thing, but implied the wrong thing. You are aware that according to Majles procedures, after a bill is passed in general, if there is a wrong element in that bill, in the second round of consultations someone will gloss over the issue and in this manner that wrong element will be imposed on the Majles, clothed in a worthy bill.

After Mr. 'Amid Zanjani's speech, the speaker of the Majles, Mr. Nateq Nuri, said: Mr. 'Amid tells us that we are against Article 141. No one is against Article 141, and there is no interpretation involved. Interpretation of the Constitution is the duty of the Council of Guardians.

He added: To clarify the position of Mr. Sayfian and Mr. 'Amid, I asked the respected Council of Guardians whether management of colleges is included in the meaning of the exemption stipulated in Article 141 for educational posts. The answer was negative. Therefore, a deputy must not serve as chairman of a college.

The speaker of the Majles read a part of his inquiry from the Council of Guardians. The inquiry states: "Is a deputy allowed to occupy a position as college chairman? Are such positions included in the meaning of Article

141?" The Council of Guardians has given its interpretation as follows: "Regarding the first note of the bill, our unanimous opinion is that chairmanship of a college, like presidency of a university, is considered to be an administrative position. Therefore, occupying such a position by a Majles deputy is against Article 141 of the Constitution."

It should be mentioned that this bill covers at least two more deputies, namely, Mr. Hasan Ruhani, the head of the Center for Strategic Studies, and Mr. Larijani, the head of the Research Center for Theoretical Physics in Iran.

Interestingly, some time ago and following complaints from a few SALAM readers, we asked the opinion of the leadership committee of the Majles on this issue. Even at that time, some members of the leadership committee considered it against the Constitution for a deputy to occupy a position of college chairmanship.

Paper on Bank Markazi Governor, Possible Changes

95LA0022A Tehran SALAM in Persian 22 Sep 94 p 7

[Article by Mr. A'lami]

[FBIS Translated Text] The recent management change at Bank Markazi is the most important key economic policy change in the past five years. Therefore, it is important to address this issue, especially because the most important government tool in determining the macroeconomic direction is monetary policy, which is a major function of the management of Bank Markazi.

The following article by Mr. A'lami provides a detailed view on this issue.

The above headline was carried by some morning and evening newspapers in Tehran, reporting on the end of Bank Markazi's former governor general's term. The reality is that many changes have taken place and will continue to take place in the course of events. This is the way of this world. Some gain positions, and after leading for a while, lose their positions to others. In this chain of events, there is one inevitably constant factor. All are destined to leave their positions. This is true about those who know that they are qualified, accept responsibility, and shine with right and wise actions in helping make life better for people. It is also true about those who are aware of their lack of qualifications, accept responsibility, and add to people's problems by their wrong actions. However, there is one difference between the two groups. The first group gains a good name among people, their prayers, and their sense of loss when they leave the scene. The second group's departure brings joy to a vast majority of people.

Whether Mr.'Adeli belongs to the first or second group can be found from the reaction of people to his departure from the scene and from realities of life sensed by the society.

Undoubtedly, the governor general of Bank Markazi and his associates put into action what they considered to be right. But, the gulf between what they considered to be right and what truly is right and beneficial for the society is a subject that deserves separate discussion and investigation and is beyond the expertise of this writer. We will refer to some aspects of this issue, but initially we must address another question. What is the purpose and motivation behind the replacement of Mr.'Adeli with Mr. Nourbakhsh? Will this change improve the country's economy, especially its monetary policies and reserves? These two personalities have the same economic views, and Mr. Nourbakhsh clearly emphasized last evening that he will pursue the past policies. Therefore, no changes can be expected, at least at the macroeconomic level. Also, the existing indications point to the fact that, at least during the short term, the change of personalities has not taken place with a view to reconsidering fundamental policies. It is not unknown to close observers that Mr.'Adeli was a channel for policies that a group of his like-minded associates, including the new governor general of Bank Markazi, had planned for the country's economic growth and development. Therefore, one may say that a major reason for the change and replacement of 'Adeli with Nourbakhsh was the former governor general's management style. Whatever caused the change, we consider it a good omen and welcome Dr. Nourbakhsh and wish him success in solving many current difficulties. We invite his attention to a few points.

A. Bank Markazi is responsible for the formulation and execution of monetary and reserve policies of the country. As a result, not only a major part of our domestic and international economic standing is dependent on this organization, but also this organization can play a unique and important role in influencing all economic activities in the country with correct and timely decisions and policies that in turn influence people's expectations. It is clear that the most important factor in creating stability in a country is mutual trust and confidence between people and government. The satisfactory performance and statements by the officials can create a strong bond between government and people. As an important part of government, and as an organization whose satisfactory function depends on the confidence of people in its policies, Bank Markazi must try more than other institutions to gain people's confidence. This is not limited to the domestic arena but also extends beyond the borders of the Islamic Republic. The guarantee of success for such policies is dependent on two principles: calculated positions and statements, as well as wise action. In this manner, the monetary officials can gain the confidence of people and utilize the most important tool at their disposal, that is changing people's expectations so that monetary policies can succeed. This writer believes that the former management was unsuccessful in this regard, as is shown by the reaction of markets in the opposite direction of what was expected by monetary officials each time a new policy was implemented, interviews and speeches were given, or a new position was announced by the former management. Obviously, this does not mean that the only factor that caused a lack of success was the governor general of Bank Markazi and his monetary policies. The failure of other monetary officials and policies is not ignored, but our emphasis is on the fact that such a vital organization can play a very positive role at very little expense. It is not unknown to knowledgeable people that a major part of instability in the commodities and exchange markets is the result of people's expectations about the future, rather than economic and monetary realities. The uncertain future is a reflection of the positions and actions of government officials in general and monetary officials in particular.

Therefore, even if the only reason for changing governors was the management style of the former governor and the need to reform that style, still we need to assess the weak aspects of the thinking and functioning that were represented by Mr.'Adeli's management style. For this reason, we expand our discussion and review some aspects of the performance and thinking of the former governor. Obviously, the success of the present governor of the Bank Markazi depends upon a fundamental review of the past weaknesses so that they may be avoided in the future.

First, the previous governor of Bank Markazi, like some others, imagined that he was an expert in all economic matters and embodied all economic principles and theories. He never paid attention to the criticism of experts from academic and non-academic circles. Consequently, despite disastrous results of implemented policies, he still insisted on his own position and that of his associates. As the wise men of ancient times have said: Accepting early defeat is superior to defeat after a long war.

Second, by following his like-minded associates, Mr.'Adeli ignored the political, economic, and cultural fabric of our society and did not consider the existing conditions of our country in his thinking. Rather, he was attracted to the Western economic theories and models that are taught in their universities and are suitable for the structure of their societies. To justify his actions and those of his associates, he consistently offered such values and equations that are not universally agreed upon even in Western society. Unfortunately, in implementing these theories he followed the policy of trial and error and this led to undesirable results. Why?

The following story may shed some light on the causes of the weaknesses.

It has been told that once upon a time a villager came to a city for a visit and to get some souvenirs to take to his village as tokens of civilization and progress in the city. As he was touring the city he came across a tall, skyscraper-like minaret, and he asked a grocer at a nearby shop about the name and nature of that minaret. The grocer told him: This is a minaret, and it is grown when you plant a carrot seed.

The simple villager purchased some carrot seeds to take to his village to plant so that there would be a minaret in his village too. The carrot seed was planted in the village and necessary care was given to it for a long time; but there was no sign of a minaret. He went to the village head and told him the story. They dug the ground and saw that some roots had appeared, but no minaret was in sight. The villager went back to the city to talk to the grocer. The grocer said: If you had planted the seed right, a minaret would have grown. A minaret has really grown, but because you planted the seed upside down, the minaret has also grown upside down!

In reality, we can say that a lot of current difficulties and weaknesses are the result of the implemented policies. What has been implemented as the policy of adjustment is similar to the planting of a carrot seed by Mr.'Adeli and his like-minded friends, hoping for economic growth and development, as a souvenir to our country. Present economic conditions are indications that the planting of the carrot seed, hoping for a minaret, and all the sacrifices made by our people for its growth, have led to undesirable results. Mr.'Adeli and his associates are victims of statistics, numbers, and values that were provided to them by the grocer. That is why the only measure of success pronounced by them is that 7.2 percent growth has been achieved.

This type of thinking is born of a mental process that resorts to measures such as growth of GNP and the like—measures that have proven to be worthless even in the eyes of Western theoreticians—instead of resorting to Islamic values such as social justice, public welfare, creation of opportunities for individual growth, and spiritual success. Obviously, the root of such thoughts is the idea that economic theories have no relation to ideological principles.

B. Theoretically and based on classical values for measuring the success of a program relative to the established objectives, we may use the criterion of GNP and consider its growth to mean that economic growth has been achieved. But, Mr. Nourbakhsh knows better than this writer that numbers indicating such growth are not a reflection of reality of life of people in the Third World societies. Therefore, we cannot trust the statistical results of various economic models of growth and use that for confirming one or another model, because individuals produce the numbers that are a poor reflection of realities of life. A simplified portrayal of reality does not show all of reality, and not necessarily is even all of reality a reflection of truth. Numbers and figures are only quantitative and are produced by individuals. They lack qualitative value. Economic reports state that all developing countries have benefited from relative growth during the 1990s. In the footnotes of such reports, as well as in the body of reports themselves, it is said that 100 million people in developing countries have a daily income of less than one dollar. Two-thirds of the population of Brazil is condemned to an early death due to poverty and sickness. At the same time, statistics portray that country as having economic growth. GNP for that country in 1980 was equivalent to $226.415 billion. This figure grew to $4,820.04 billion in 1989. Despite these impressive figures, without attention to realities such as what was described here, they are not a reflection of progress in Brazil. As the author of the book *Saytareh Jahani* [as published] writes, these figures are cartoons of progress. Many Third World countries, including Iran, are faced with these cartoons. If you are a slave of such numerical calculations, which represent only an abstract quantitative reality, then you are forced to call it public progress when growth is achieved by a limited class of capitalists in the country, whose gains are reflected in GNP. These capitalists include both those who have already hidden their capital, but live in this land and increase their wealth each day and have astronomical savings, as well as those who have seen the green light of adjustment and have returned to this country and are now busy as middlemen in the parasite sector of the economy that is looting the national wealth. If this trend continues, you will be ignorant of the threatening risks to the material and spiritual well-being of our country and the vast majority of its people. But, if you reduce your reliance on such statistics and figures, you will find out about the impact of the policy of adjustment on the administrative and non-administrative relationship between people and officials as well as the relationship between a revolutionary nation and its religion. Perhaps the situation will become more clear for you if you pay some attention to the quality and quantity of judiciary cases, which only represent the most obvious violations.

Our dear nation is capable, and it deserves to have a proper social life, because we have good people, appropriate cultural, and religious values, and plentiful and God-given natural resources. Being proud about statistics and figures will cause ignorance about this truth, as the former governor of Bank Markazi was. This made people cynical and caused them to loose trust, resulting in depriving the monetary system of the country from proper functioning. He and his associates created a situation in various sectors of the economy that led to the defining of growth simply as quantitative progress. This in turn created conditions that encouraged some managers of government factories to present an unrealistic picture of growth in production by resorting to the principles of "shadow economy" [as published] so that they would not look like they were missing the bandwagon of growth. Others among them increased prices of their products astronomically to win the competition in this race. They were ignorant of the fact that they were serving an Islamic government, a government on whose forehead is engraved: Social justice. Resorting to such measures led Mr.'Adeli to claim that a $2.636 billion loss in the steel industry was in fact part of an industrial growth of 23 percent during the year 1372 [1993-94].

Mr. Nourbakhsh has announced that the change of management at Bank Markazi will not change policies. If you continue to emphasize the past policies and rely on numbers and figures to demonstrate your performance and give the same explanations, you are then of the same opinion as Keynes, who believes that economic growth is only achievable through utilization of strong selfish motivations of people, the same motivations that religion, culture, and ethics call upon us to resist. Modern economy rises from excessive greed. This is not accidental. Rather, it is exactly the reason for its expansionist success. Keynes writes that not far in the future everyone will be wealthy, ends will become superior to means, and rightness will be preferable to profit. But he emphasizes that such a time has not arrived yet and for the next 100 years we must pretend to ourselves and others that badness is good and goodness is bad because badness is profitable and goodness is not. Greed, profiteering, and suspicion must remain our gods for a while longer because only they can guide us from the darkness of the narrow path of economic need to the brilliance of the daylight of success. It is still early to return to strong religious principles and ethical attributes that condemn greed as degradation, profiteering as sin, and love for money as hatefulness. Mr. Nourbakhsh! You only need to give a cursory look at the performance and positions of Mr.'Adeli and his associates and compare them with the guidance given by Keynes. You may then clearly see the resemblance that we see between the results of the program of adjustment and the conditions it has created in the society, and Keynes' portrayal of society. What has led the people of an Islamic country to lack confidence in their monetary system is in reality the same factors that Keynes accurately portrayed.

Unfortunately, we have witnessed that on a number of issues Mr.'Adeli and his associates have followed the path of Keynes, who believed that economic growth is conditioned upon portraying badness as good, goodness as bad, and the rule of greed, profiteering, and suspicion. These, he said, will lead people from the darkness of the narrow path of economic need to the brilliance of the daylight of success. The difference is that Keynes only wants to portray the above vices as good, but our brothers consciously promote them as true beliefs. Obviously, you will ask: When did such developments take place?

The most clear example of the above is the treatment of the issue of foreign debt, which Mr. Zanjani in the Majles calls an art and Mr.'Adeli refers to it as a desired and good economic move.

Undoubtedly, some political and economic exigencies force the government officials to borrow from foreign countries despite their true convictions. The justification was the need for capital and investment necessary for growth and development in the face of the shortage in the government treasury. One of the monetary officials, who not only by his religious duty but also as a matter of responsibility must tell the truth to the people, followed some others and announced that we have no foreign debt. However, later he said that we have a debt of about $8 billion. He changed the nature of another $20 billion of debt and deducted it from the actual debt. But, when he was faced with foreigners and had to give accurate figures on debt, he said 18-19 billion pounds, half of which is long-term debt. Yet, on another day the total debt of Iran was announced as $18 billion. Publicly and on Voice and Vision, they announced the finalized debt to be $8 billion, but when faced with a reporter's insistence, they announced that there was another $7-8 billion of debt. Even worse, in justifying the debt, instead of calling it a bad move forced by necessity, they proudly announced: "For a country like Iran, $9 billion of finalized debt and a total debt of $30 billion is not significant." Mr.'Adeli did not understand that whatever is uttered by the governor of Bank Markazi, as the monetary official in the Islamic Republic, is recorded in the economic history of Iran. If nothing else, such statements and positions result in a loss of the people's confidence in the monetary policies of Bank Markazi and a failure of other policies. Furthermore, it sows the seed of a precedence/precedent?? that will be harvested by the future officials of the country.

Naturally, the sympathizing Muslim critics in this country raise their voices when faced with such contradictory positions by an official who tries to justify an action born from necessity. They say that even if the action in itself is not shameful, it is not right and useful to send economic ambassadors from the Islamic Republic who are obliged to hold high the honor of Muslims in their activities as instructed in the blessed verse "Islam exalts and nothing is exalted above it," to delay part of the debt payment for six months by attending 184 humiliating meetings in 17 countries with 1,106 private corporations, 13 insurance companies, and about 40 small and large foreign banks and by paying an interest of approximately $3-3.5 billion for the delay in payment.

It seems like written history needs to be revised to portray negative actions as positive and thus honoring those responsible for such actions. The Qajar dynasty occupies the darkest position in the economic history of Iran only because it borrowed a total of 45 million Russian manat (5 million pounds sterling) from the government of Russia and about 2 million pounds sterling from the government of England and India. For the information of Mr. 'Adeli, the payment schedule for this debt was 75 years. But history books, written by historians or by the Qajar government itself, have not denied the nature of this debt. They definitely did not present it as an art. If Mr.'Adeli and others had attempted to present the difference between the past debts and the current debt, instead of attempting to justify the debt and presenting it as a positive phenomenon or essentially hiding it, they would not have lost credibility for their wrong and confused statements, which led to more negative consequences. In any case, he did not pay attention to this important issue and insisted on his position by presenting the negative as positive. As a result, the country's economy lost credibility both inside and outside the country.

It is likely that both Mr. 'Adeli and Mr. Nourbakhsh have read that the non-Muslim author Schumacher, in response to the theories of Keynes and others like him who ignore goodly attributes, has said: "If low attributes such as greed and jealousy are aroused in people, they lose the ability to see things as they are. The GNP may increase rapidly, as assessed and calculated by statisticians, but people's experience will be different. People will find themselves under crushing pressures of disappointment, alienation, and insecurity. After a while, even the GNP will cease to rise, not because of technical problems but because of conflicts and lack of cooperation among people. This will lead to paralysis."

At the end, I feel obliged to beg pardon in advance if this article goes beyond a scientific discussion and if any of those who were addressed here are offended in any way. I emphasize again that if economic officials, especially Mr. Nourbakhsh, are aware of the existing cultural onslaught in the country, they should consider reviewing the past policies and employ new measures for evaluating their economic programs. They should remember the following words of the Leader of the Revolution: "Economic growth is not our only objective. An economic program is only credible when it moves the society closer to social justice."

With greetings.

Nepal

Prime Minister Urges 'National Consensus'

LD3011172494 Kathmandu Radio Nepal in English 1415 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prime Minister Mana Mohan Adhikari has urged all political leaders and parties to strengthen the basis of national consensus in the present complicated political situation by removing conflicts and misunderstandings between various political parties through mutual talks and exchange of ideas. Prime Minister Adhikari made this call in a message to the nation after taking up his post today. In the message, the prime minister has expressed confidence that if we all make serious efforts, an appropriate basis and procedures for national consensus can be set up and this can enhance political stability and economic development of the country and foster law and order.

The prime minister said all our internal and external political and economic policy and decisions will be oriented toward strengthening national integrity and empowering the people in all respects making them self-reliant and able. Urging all to unite to fulfill this phase of the democratic exercises and resolve the problems, Prime Minister Adhikari said we are aware of the need to strengthen national consensus and work according to such consensus giving the (?long-term) values. Prime Minister Adhikari said he will strive to strengthen the basis of social justice, of building a healthy, prosperous, and civilized society by removing the [word indistinct] in society. A high level commission will be set up to resolve the problems of land (?system) as most people are dependent on agriculture, he said. Among others, the prime minister said foreign investment will be encouraged under this policy.

Pakistan

Bhutto Comments on Country's Nuclear Program

MS0112111194 London THE INDEPENDENT in English 1 Dec 94 p 16

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto by Raymond Whitaker in London; date not given]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pakistan has no plans to dismantle its nuclear programme, despite United States pressure, and will not allow outside inspection of its facilities, Pakistan's Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, said this week.

Since the US and North Korea signed an agreement in October aimed at ending the nuclear threat from Pyongyang's development programme, international concern has focused on south Asia, where both India and Pakistan are believed to have nuclear capability. Unlike North Korea, neither country is a member of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and they have been to war with each other three times. The divided Himalayan territory of Kashmir, the cause of two of the wars, remains a constant irritant.

Washington recently offered to ease the Pressler Amendment, which since 1990 has denied aid to Pakistan because it is presumed to possess nuclear weapons, in exchange for the removal of certain technology and a "one-time" inspection. Ms Bhutto said talks with the US were continuing, but Pakistan would not allow "physical verification" of its claim to possess no such weapons. The CIA believes the country has the components for up to 15 bombs, but Islamabad claims that because it has promised not to assemble them, it has not violated the Pressler Amendment. It considers the legislation discriminatory, since it does not apply to India.

"We feel we have shown restraint" she said. "The fact that we have been able to develop this technology is a source of pride to Muslims everywhere, but there is no question of our exporting it."

Ms Bhutto, who became the Muslim world's first female Prime Minister in 1988, returned to power 13 months ago. She failed to persuade John Major when they met at Downing Street this week to drop the arms embargo on the former Yugoslavia and intervene militarily on the side of the Bosnian Muslims. She was no more successful in enlisting support for Pakistan's position on Kashmir—another conflict, she argues, in which United Nations resolutions have been ignored. "The impotence of the UN does not bode well for the institution," she said.

Pakistan has failed twice this year to gain support for UN resolutions on Kashmir, but Ms Bhutto said pressure on India had resulted in Kashmiri leaders being freed from detention and diplomats being allowed access to the territory. India was talking of holding an election, although it would have no credibility. "We gain either way," said Ms Bhutto. "If they call it off they admit their lack of support, and if they hold it no one will vote."

Since returning to office, said Ms Bhutto, her government had concentrated on economic reform. Yesterday she was drawing the attention of British investors to privatisation, more autonomy to the central bank and taxing rich landowners for the first time. Inflation is still a concern, but Pakistan has remained within the terms of an International Monetary Fund programme.

Politics, however, remains chaotic. Ms Bhutto caused an uproar this month by arresting Mian Mohammed Sharif, the father of her bitter political rival, Nawaz Sharif, and head of the family industrial combine, on charges of financial irregularities. The next day's opening of the National Assembly was a shambles, with arguments and fist-fights drowning out President Farooq Leghari's speech. Mr Sharif, 75, was later released after fears for his health, but Ms Bhutto was accused of practicing "vengeance politics". She remained unrepentant, however, commenting: "Because of our history of martial law, we still have politicians with an anti-democratic mentality, bent on subverting constitutional rule."

Despite criminal and political violence in Karachi, clashes with fundamentalists demanding Islamic law in the northwest tribal territories and bloodshed in Afghanistan and Kashmir, Ms Bhutto said Pakistan was showing greater political stability. "I do feel this government will complete its term," she says.

Paper Details India's Intelligence Services

BK0112093094 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 7 Nov 94 supplement p II

[From "Defence Panorama" Section]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] THE INDIAN SIGINT [signal intelligence] establishment consists of dozen organisations in involved with SIGINT collection activities of one sort or another.

SIGINT of all sorts is collected. There are organisation concerned with the collection processing and analysis of diplomatic communications; other are concerned with the foreign military signals, from the strategic through the operational to the tactical levels; Both the Indian Air Force and Navy conduct maritime surveillance by ELINT [electronic intelligence]. There are organisations that monitor satellite communications, both for SIGINT and political censorship purposes, other specialise in telemetry intelligence (TELINT). There are organisations involved in SIGINT for border Security, counterterrorist and domestic political surveillance purposes and there are organisations concerned with Communications Security (COMSEC) and monitoring the radiowaves for the purposes of frequency spectrum management. Following organisations are operating in India to collect intelligence.

(i) The Signals Intelligence Directorate of the Military Intelligence Directorate of the Army: The Signals Intelligence Directorate (SID) of the Military Intelligence Directorate of the Army is India's largest SIGINT organisation, and is reportedly, involved in some 40 per cent of India's SIGINT activity. It is a tri-service organisation, with its headquarters occupying the three upper floors of Sena Bhavan in New Delhi. The SID is administratively responsible for the Central Monitoring Organisation (CMO), which maintains and operates the SIGINT stations. These stations are located across India, and monitor Pakistani, Chinese, Bangladeshi and Burmese radio traffic. Its most extensive network is located along the Pakistani border. The SID/CMO has responsibilities at both the military operational level and, largely for historical reasons, the national strategic level. In the former role, it not only collects military ELINT and COMINT [communications intelligence] at its own stations, but also coordinates the SIGINT activities of the Army Commands.

At the national level, CMO's No 5 Company operates a station on the Delhi ridge, behind Dhual Khuan, which monitors foreign diplomatic traffic.

The CMO also has a responsibility for communications Security (COMSEC) to Major General (Rtd) Yashwant Deva, former Chief Signal Officer, Southem.

For many years, the SID was responsible for the airborne SIGINT patrol along the Pakistani border, which involved the daily flight of an Avro HS 748 aircraft from Kargil to Gujrat. However it has been transferred to RAW/ARC, and the Directorate is now responsible for groundbased SIGINT operations only.

(ii) The Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) The National and Strategic SIGINT was taken over by the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) of the Cabinet Secretariat when it was formed in 1968. Within RAW, responsibility for SIGINT operations lies with the Electronic Technical Section (ETS), which maintains ground stations for monitoring the encrypted diplomatic and military communications of neighbouring countries, and the Aviation Research Centre (ARC) which conducts airborne SIGINT operations. These two stations account for a large proportion of RAW's budget. RAW (including the ARC) reportedly accounts for some 30 per cent of India's SIGINT activity.

The headquarters of the RAW is in Lodi road, with the RAW telecommunication headquarters at Patpraganj. RAW maintains a large SIGINT station in South Delhi, and numerous stations throughout the rest of India; monitoring signals from Pakistan Afghanistan, China, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Burma etc. It also has a monitoring setup along the Pakistan border, but it is not as extensive as that of the MIs ISID (CMO).

The RAW maintains a number of stations of satellite communication (SATCOM) SIGINT on site, of which is reckoned to be Sikandarabad across the Yamuna from Delhi. It is also likely that RAW conducts SIGINT activities from the Indian Embassy compounds in Islamabad and Beijing.

In mid-90, the role of RAW within the Indian intelligence community was strengthened, and its collection on economic and industrial intelligence.

(iii) The Aviation Research Centre (ARC).

The Aviation Research Centre (ARC) which was established in 1963 responsible for airborne SIGINT operations, (The first Director of the ARC was Rameshwar Nath Rao, from Allahabad in Kashmir, who later served as Director of RAW from its establishment in 1968 until 1977), the ARC was established in the immediate aftermath of the border war with China in October-November 1962, and has remained chiefly concerned with airborne intelligence operations (both PHOTOTINT and SIGINT against China. Advanced signal monitoring equipment has been produced indigenously by the ARC (Technical) Service Branch.

The ARC maintains specially configured aircraft for SIGINT operations—including two Boeing 707s, two Learjet 29 As, three Gulfstream IV SRAs, Canberras, Antonov An 12, Cub Bs, Antonov An-32, Sutlejs and Ilyushin II 76 Gajrats.

The RAC maintains two major air bases and associated processing facilities. The first is at Charbatia known as Establishment 22) on the outskirts of Cuttack in Orissa; the base was originally, established by the VCIA in 1962-63 to support airborne SIGINT and photographic reconnaissance operations across Tibet, but it is also well-placed for operations against India's North Eastern and Eastern neighbours. The second is at Sarasawa, near Shaharanpur in Uttar Pradesh, which provides airborne coverage of the western sector of the India—China boardroom as well as of northeast Pakistan.

The ARC is reportedly now also responsible for the daily patrol by HS 748 Avro AIGINT aircraft along the Pakistan border from Kargil in Kashmir to Gujrat in the South. It is planned to replace the HS 748 with Boeing 737 for purpose.

Spokesman Says India 'Not Sincere' About Talks

BK0112041094 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in Urdu 0200 GMT 1 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Pakistan has regretted that India is not sincere in holding positive and result-oriented talks to solve the Kashmir problem. Replying to question about threatening statements from India, a Foreign Office spokesman told newsmen in Islamabad that these are totally unacceptable. The spokesman pointed out that India is continuing its policy of seeking to crush the Kashmiri liberation struggle by use of force and harps on the so-called theme of Kashmir being an integral part of it.

The spokesman hoped that India will realize that there is no military solution of the Kashmir problem and it can only be resolved on the basis of UN resolutions. He said India has given assurances through third countries regarding human rights violations in occupied Kashmir and Pakistan will see whether or not India lives up to these promises. He said Pakistan has achieved the objective of convincing the world that there are massive violations of human rights in occupied Kashmir.

Charges of ISI Role in 'Political Trouble' Rejected

BK0112102494 Islamabad THE PAKISTAN OBSERVER in English 1 Dec 94 p 6

[Editorial: "Nightmares in Daylight"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The government of India has accused Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) agency of fomenting political trouble in its largest state, the Uttar Pradesh [UP]. This is by no means the first time that New Delhi has gone hammer and tongs for the ISI. Not long ago, India saw the ISI hand in serious disturbances in its eastern states where a state of insurgency prevailed, and still does. When bombs blew up Bombay's stock exchange, ISI came in handy. In Kashmir it is the ISI which rules the roost, as far as New Delhi is concerned. For ISI there can hardly be a better certificate of meritorious performance. India is a huge entity, and our ISI is romping merrily all over the place, inciting rebellion planting bombs, carrying out sedition and sabotage and returning home dry and in one peace. To be operating simultaneously in Assam, Darjeeling, Tamil Nadu, Bombay, Uttar Pradesh, Madhyia Pradesh and no doubt Indian held Kashmir, Jammu and Laddakh is some performance, some operation! And who knows where else in India, which the authorities in New Delhi have still to discover to their horror.

The latest accusation elevates India's sense of humour to unscaled heights. In what is India's most trouble-prone state and also its largest—the Uttar Pradesh—there has never been a moment without some disquieting developments. It is the state which has thrown up more prime ministers and more tumult than any other in the Indian Union. The UP also has more mosques and mandirs and more communal strife than anywhere else in India. It will be recalled that the Babri Mosque which a pack of temple enthusiasts razed to the ground is also a part of the UP scenario.

At the present moment UP is going through a determined protest movement in its northern region bordering on Nepal. This largely mountainous area, rich in forests, is extremely poor in every other respect. The people in the northern reaches of UP feel with all the justification in the world that mey have been victims of a very raw deal by the government which has always been heavily overloaded in favour of the plains people. Having failed to receive a fair dispensation, they are asking for an independent status as a state. Their case has indisputable merit and validity. In the first place, the UP is just too big and unwieldy to be managed properly by a single administration. For the sake of administrative efficiency alone the case for devolution would be unanswerable. The trick to bring ISI in this rumpus is merely to malign the movement for a separate state in the north of UP. In India it is supposed to be enough to inject the ISI factor so-called to paint anything as the devil's own handiwork.

Going off the tangent is not India's exclusive copyright. Here in Pakistan do we not hear the RAW [Research and Analysis Wing] litany a little too often to be taken serious note of? Incompetent governments have a way of making an ass of themselves by shouting wolf too often. In Sindh we have our own brand of jokers. Syed Abdullah Shah, the Chief Minister, opens his mouth only to speak out of turn, out of context and out of malice. His government is a total failure. It is immobile and in a perfect jam, and so he sees foreign hands all over. The question the government of India ought to face is that if there is ISI all over the place, what prevents it from doing what so manifestly needs to be done? Liquidate the foreign hand and have done with it. The same would be our advice to the likes of Syued Abdullah Shah. As they say a bad workman quarrels with his tools. And so we have the ISI doing funny things all over India and RAW all over in Pakistan. All this doesn't add up to much of good sense, does it?

Leaders Urged To Crush 'Foreign Hands'

BK3011104094 Lahore JANG in Urdu 30 Nov 94 p 3

[Editorial: "End This Conspiracy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An international conspiracy has been hatched to worsen the situation in Karachi. Attempts are being made to dismember Karachi from the rest of the country. Foreign hands are involved in the incidents of sectarianism and sabotage. The United States has chalked out a plan of large-scale murder and destruction for Karachi. We have been constantly hearing such statements from our governments and political leaders for the past several years. A naive person who is unaware of the elements working behind these acts of lawlessness and chaos is naturally prone to believe that the statements of our eminent and responsible figures are true. However, if we acknowledge that elements working for foreign countries conspiring against us are responsible for the chaos, terrorism, and tension in the country, then a question naturally props up in the mind as to why the government has so far failed to crush the hands of these elements, which for a long time have been successfully pitting our people against each other. Any serious consideration of this question shows that the current and future situation in our country will largely depend on a correct and realistic answer. Any ordinary citizen of this country knows that India and some other countries, by pulling their strings, are trying to punish the Muslims of Pakistan for their profound affinity to Islam. When a substantial number of responsible persons of our country are saying so, then our enemies must have been doing it. However, the question is: why have our governments, political leaders, and religious scholars—despite living in their own country and among their own people—failed to foil the conspiracies hatched by enemies? After all, an enemy will always resort to enmity; why should one expect anything good from an enemy? We should boldly try to counter the enemy moves.

The 120 million self-respecting people of Pakistan are fully capable of thwarting any foreign conspiracy with considerable ferocity. If the government does not utilize the people's strength and capabilities to thwart the conspiracy, then the patriotic people of the country should identify and crush those who are active inside this holy land and acting as a tool in the hands of foreign elements conspiring against this country. Not even the biggest country of the world, not to speak of India, can implement a conspiracy in a resourceful, strong, and capable country like Pakistan unless it succeeds in securing the "assistance" of some among us who have scant regard for what conscience dictates. Obviously, it is the task of government leaders to find out the internal elements involved in the conspiracies against Pakistan and neutralize them. Blaming foreign hands and using the excuse of foreign conspiracies year after year despite having all the power and capability to counter them is not only an insult to the valiant people of Pakistan but is actually a confession of helplessness in countering enemy conspiracies—something quite inappropriate for the leaders of a self-respecting nation.

French Submarines, UK Frigates Being Purchased

LD0112123494 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Overseas Service in English 1100 GMT 1 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pakistan is purchasing three submarines from France, which includes complete transfer of technology package, at a cost of about $946 million. This was stated by the defense minister, Mr. Aftab Shahban Mirani [name and title as heard], during question hour in the Senate today.

He said Pakistan has also purchased six secondhand type F-21 frigates from Britain. He said $94 million are being spent for the equipment of these frigates with modern equipment like radars, torpedoes, command and control systems, and anti-submarine rockets.

Sri Lanka

Talks To Resume With LTTE Before Year's End

BK0112114594 Colombo Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation International Service in English 1045 GMT 1 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The government will resume talks with the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] before the end of the year. This was disclosed by Cabinet Spokesman Dharmasiri Senanayake at a news briefing yesterday. He said that President Chandrika Bandaranaike-Kumaratunga, who is handling the peace process, was taking active and positive steps to resume the talks. In answer to further questions, he said talks with the LTTE will be resumed before Christmas. The peace talks were postponed following the killing of Opposition Leader Gamini Dissanayake on 24 October, the very day the second round of talks was due to be held in Jaffna.

LTTE leader Prabhakaran has said that he is looking for settlement on the questions of cease-fire, the opening of the Sangupiddy Road for civilian traffic, and complete removal of the economic embargo. He has also said that the LTTE was prepared to consider a solution ensuring the safety and security of the Tamil people within an autonomous framework.

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